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29 June 1977

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1408

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEAUSESCU TOASTS HONECKER AT BERLIN DINNER

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Jun 77 p 1, 2 AU

[Text of toast proposed by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at Berlin 8 June official dinner given in his honor by SED General Secretary Erich Honecker]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Honecker, esteemed Mrs Honecker, Dear Comrades and Friends, cordial greetings and best wishes on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as on my own and my wife's behalf.

I want to express thanks for the warm welcome you and the Berlin people have given us. We view this as an expression of the friendly relations between our countries, parties and peoples, relations which are fruitfully developing on the basis of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the GDR.

The visit we are paying to the GDR, as well as our meeting a few months ago in Romania, Comrade Honecker, illustrates the upward trend of relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the GDR, between the RCP and the SED, the desire and determination to give greater scope to their sound relations.

We are glad that we will have the opportunity during this visit to your country to become familiar with some of the concerns and achievements of the working people in the GDR. The Romanian people highly appreciate the great successes recorded by the GDR working people under the leadership of the SED Central Committee headed by Comrade Honecker. The achievements you have recorded in implementing the decisions of the Ninth Congress in socialist construction, in developing the economy and science and culture and in improving the living standard of the working people gives us particular pleasure. And as sincere friends we wish you ever greater success in implementing the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress in building the developed Socialist society.

Dear Comrades and Friends, please allow me to speak about some of the concerns of the Romanian people, who under RCP leadership are carrying out

extensive activity to implement the 11th congress decisions and to build the comprehensively developed socialist society. In 1976, the first year of the five-year plan, industrial output increased 11.5 percent and agriculture, the basic branch in our national economy, recorded the greatest grain output ever in our country's history.

These successes, as well as the important achievements recorded in increasing industrial output in the first 5 months of this year -- although we have had to surmount great difficulties caused by the 4 March earthquake -- have made it possible to recently adopt measures that will insure an increase in the current five-year plan in the real renumeration of all strata of working people of some 30 percent compared with 18-20 percent as initially envisaged.

Concerning ourselves with intensively developing the forces of production on the basis of modern scientific and technical achievements, and with the flourishing of education, culture and art, we also act consistently to continuously deepen socialist democracy and to improve the organizational framework for the participation of the broad working masses in the leadership of socioeconomic life and all society. We pay special attention to the ideological and educational-political activity and to shaping the new man and firmly promote in social life the norms of socialist ethics and equity. We do everything to guarantee a high level of material and cultural civilization for all our people.

The successes recorded by our peoples, as well as those of the other socialist countries, are a contribution of each of us to increasing the prestige and influence of socialism in the world and a contribution to the cause of peace and international cooperation.

Dear Comrades and Friends, great revolutionary, national and social changes have taken place and are taking place in international life that have produced radical changes in the world balance of forces favoring the forces of progress and peace. The major characteristic of these changes is the ever more forceful assertion of the peoples will to put an end to the old imperialist policy of domination and oppression and to master their national riches and their destinies, to develop freely in a climate of trust, mutual respect and cooperation.

In the spirit of the 11th party congress decisions, our country is continuously strengthening friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries and with all peoples who are building the new system.

Romania participates, within CEMA, in implementing the provisions of the comprehensive program insuring the developing of each national economy and also acts to expand its economic relations with all socialist countries.

At the same time, we promote all-round relations with the developing countries, with the newly independent states and with the nonaligned countries and actively support the struggle of the peoples still under colonial domination for liberty and independence and for their independent assertion.

In the spirit of peaceful coexistence, we are expanding relations of economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation with all world states, regardless of social system and are actively participating in the international division of labor and in the world exchange of values.

We firmly base all our foreign relations on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage and nonrecourse to the use or threat of force. And we also struggle consistently for these principles to be given general application in all international life.

The Socialist Republic of Romania believes that determined action must be taken to achieve security and cooperation in Europe in the spirit of the Helsinki documents. Along this line, we believe that the proposals made by the Warsaw Pact member-countries adopted at the Bucharest meeting in the fall of 1976 aim at achieving security in Europe.

It is necessary for the Belgrade meeting to give a forceful impetus to implementing the final document of the Helsinki Conference, a document that constitutes an inseparable whole both as regards free development and economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation and cooperation in other spheres of activity.

We especially believe that efficient measures for military disengagement on our continent are necessary, without which one cannot speak of real security and peace.

The international situation also requires increased efforts by all peoples aimed at establishing a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, at avoiding any military confrontation and at resolving existing conflicts in various parts of the world by peaceful means.

We believe that the achievement of general disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament is a basic requirement of our days. It is time to proceed with determination to adopting tangible measures in this respect, especially for halting the arms race that has assumed alarming proportions, for eliminating military bases and blocs and for withdrawing troops and arms within the national borders. It is time to do everything to avert the danger of new devastating wars and to strengthen trust and international detente.

Of great importance for our epoch is the elimination of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity

and equality so as to create conditions for a more rapid progress of poorly developed countries and so as to insure broad cooperation and stability for the economic development of all peoples.

The solution of all great problems of the present-day world requires the active participation of all states, regardless of size and social system and especially of small and medium-sized states and of the developing and nonaligned countries since they are directly interested in establishing new relations, in democratizing international life. We speak out firmly for increasing the role of the United Nations, which offers the appropriate organizational framework for the effective participation of all states in discussing and resolving the problems of peace, security and detente, in strengthening cooperation among the peoples in their struggle for shaping a better and more just world on our planet.

Esteemed comrades and friends, I want to express once again my conviction that the agreements we will conclude during our visit to your country and the accords we will sign on this occasion will give a new impetus to friendly cooperation between the socialist republic of Romania and the GDR, both at a bilateral and international level, so as to benefit both peoples and the cause of socialism, peace and cooperation among all nations.

At the same time, I wholeheartedly wish the fraternal GDR people, its vanguard -- the SED -- and the party leader who is well-known internationally, the politician and statesman, Comrade Erich Honecker, ever greater successes in implementing the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and in building the developed socialist society.

Please raise your glass to:

The strengthening of cooperation and friendship between our parties, countries and peoples,

The SED Central Committee, the health of comrades Erich Honecker and Margot Honecker,

The health of all German comrades and friends present here, and  
Cooperation and peace throughout the world. [Applause]

CSO: 2700

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN REJECTS ROMANIAN VIEWS OF EARLY HISTORY

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 May 77 p 9

[Article by Antal Bartha, doctor of historical sciences: "The Continuity Problems of the Daco-Romanians"]

[Text] Romanian historians have published an imposing volume of studies, in the English language, in which they report on their research concerning the origins and early history of the Romanian people. The results and problems of research into the early history of individual peoples do not remain within national frameworks, they display effects in history as a whole. I herein examine the arguments of the authors of the volume, concentrating on a few questions.

In his introduction G. Pascu indicates the common position in principle of the studies. According to this the original Dacian inhabitants of Romania were Romanized at the time of Roman rule and became Daco-Romanians in all the territory of contemporary Romania. They dodged the storms of the folk migrations and led a creative life until the "Turans," thus including the Hungarians, scattered them to every point of the compass. Probably the most important location for the development of the Romanian people was Transylvania. S. Pascu states that the proofs of the continuity of the Daco-Romanians are now indisputable. Later, V. Iliescu and H. Daicoviciu report that the direct descendants of the Indo-European peoples who settled in the area of Romania at the end of the third millennium B.C. were the people known by the names of Geta, Dacian or Wallachian. In his fundamental arguments H. Daicoviciu emphasizes that between 106 and 271, that is during 165 years, under the influence of the Roman Empire using Latin as the official language, the Dacians were irreversibly Latinized in their language and Romanized in every respect. The Daco-Romanians became the saviors of the values of the Roman civilization. According to the opinions of H. Daicoviciu, V. Spinei, M. Rusu, C. Preda, S. Olteanu and I. Donat the chief scene of the Romanization and continuity of the Dacians was Transylvania from which the developed Wallachian voivodships forced the Hungarians in the middle of the 10th century. Those who remained in Transylvania were in the service of the Wallachian voivodships. During the 11th to 14th centuries they came under the

sceptre of the kings of the House of Arpad and following the Romanian example the chief officers of Transylvania were called voivods. The forcible Hungarianization policy of the Hungarian kings failed. I. Donat examines the Daco-Romanian-Wallachian political organizations on the northern perimeter of Havasalfold [Wallachia]. These are mentioned by a Hungarian document from 1247 and I. Donat thinks that they certainly existed since 271 and possibly much earlier.

According to K. Horedt and M. Rusu the Daco-Romanians were influenced during the centuries of the folk migrations primarily by the Germans but according to I. Donat and M. Comsa they were influenced to a small degree by Slavs who were less cultured than the Daco-Romanians. S. Pascu, M. Rusu, V. Spinei and S. Olteanu are of the opinion that the "Turaniens," including the Hungarians, understood only how to demand ransom and were incapable of establishing a strong organization on their own. The Hungarians rose to the level of state life under the influence of more developed relationships found in the Carpathian basin, thus those of the Wallachians and the feudalism imported from the west.

Let me begin my analysis by noting that science does not use the term "Turaniens" in the outmoded sense of the experts cited. It is a reliable hypothesis that Indo-European groups requiring a more precise definition did arrive in the areas along the Danube, and not only in the Romanian section thereof. It is possible that we should see in them the ancestors of not one but of several Indo-European peoples. A study by A. Graur states that linguistic records did not remain in the Dacian language or its near relatives. But he and others, especially H. Daicoviciu, note that the universal rule is valid for Romanian early history, too, namely that the early history of the language is a guide to the early history of the people speaking it. The early history of the people can be illuminated by starting from their language. Since the Dacian language is unknown there is no way to identify its ancestors or successors. The ancient Dacians and the contemporary Romanian people are ethnic realities but the genetic link between them is uncertain. Thus in the studies cited the rule concerning the link between language and early history leads to uncertainty. And it is the mission of science to dispel uncertainty or to recognize it.

H. Daicoviciu calls attention to the fact that the degree of Romanization of the Dacians cannot be determined. When Dacia was abandoned the earlier Dacian settlements and those founded by the Romans were depopulated and the setting up of Latin inscriptions ended. The Romans organized a new province south of the Danube which they called Dacia. Concerning the fate of the Dacians who remained in the old (Trajan) Dacia K. Horedt, M. Rusu, C. Preda and D. Gh. Theodor offer the opinion that they lived in their villages together with the incoming Germans. But they judge a discrimination according to peoples of the archeological records to be unproductive. A. Graur states that no one can hypothesize the coexistence of the Daco-Romanians and Germans since German elements in the Romanian

language are insignificant. H. Daicoviciu hypothesizes the continuity of the Daco-Romanians in hidden valleys, of which there are hardly any archeological records and geographical names in Daco-Romanian do not occur. Nor has continuity been substantiated in the valleys of the Southern Carpathians opening onto Havasalfold [Wallachia]. As a result proof has not been produced for the second hypothesis concerning Daco-Romanian continuity.

Making use of six words which can be read on two 4th century imported objects found in Transylvania Daicoviciu substantiates the nearly 1,000 year continuity of the Latin language. Such slight linguistic material not of local origin hardly proves the irreversibility of the Latinized language which is emphasized by S. Pascu, H. Daicoviciu and A. Graur. The Latin language was used officially for five and even more countries in Pannonia and Asia Minor too without Latinizing the language of the local inhabitants.

Following Anonymus [a historian of the Hungarian court whose identity is unknown], M. Rusu, V. Spinei and S. Olteanu refer to 10th century Wallachians in Transylvania. The Hungarian chronicler working at the end of the 12th century did not know the ethnic relationships of 10th century Hungary. He knew as a contemporary the Bulgar-Wallachian state established in the Balkans and on this basis he put the Wallachians in 10th century Transylvania. He did not know it but the actual situation was that the inhabitants of Southern Transylvania were Bulgar-Slavs. Transylvanian geographical names in Romanian preserve the phonetic rules of the Slav and Hungarian languages, as A. Graur points out. This is in harmony with the observation based on a great deal of material, one could call it a rule, that the peoples transmitting the geographical names lived in the given area earlier than the peoples taking over the names. Transylvania does not constitute an exception to this rule. The word "voivod" did not come into Hungarian from Romanian but from the Slavic; the Eastern Slavs knew the meaning "chief official of the ruler" in the 9th century. And the Hungarians were closely connected with the Eastern Slavs before the occupation of the homeland.

It is hardly probable that the Slavs would have been less cultured than the hypothesized Daco-Romanians or that their Daco-Romanian neighbors would have taught them to be Christians as I. Donat and M. Comsa hypothesize. A. Graur emphasizes that not only the language of the liturgy of the Romanian Orthodox Church but also the language of the Chancellors of the Romanian princes was Slavic. Slavic influenced not only the vocabulary but also the accidence of the Romanian language. Comsa himself notes that the Romanian vocabulary connected with a more developed culture is of Slavic origin.

Hungarian archeological remains found in Transylvania dating from the time of the occupation of the homeland are not suitable for the finding, which S. Olteanu makes, that the "bands" of Hungarian cavalry stayed in

10th century Transylvania only temporarily. An observation of V. Spinei is pertinent here: despite the 300 place names of Turkic origin in the Trans-Carpathian plains, cited by M. Petrescu-Dimbovita, D. Gh. Teodor and I. Donat, a total of 13 "Turanian" tombs are recognized. This disproportion merits methodological consideration in the case of Transylvania also. The boundaries of medieval Hungary were not yet firm in the 10th century. But it is worthy of consideration that in the middle of the 11th century the Russian chronicler in Kiev called the Carpathians the Hungarian (Ugor) Mountains and, praising the rule of Vladimir the First, Prince of Kiev, noted that he lived in peace and friendship with the Hungarian (Ugor) King Istvan. These chronologically trustworthy observations provide some information concerning the eastern boundaries of the early Hungarian state. It is ahistorical to think that our kings of the House of Arpad had means to change the nationality relationships of Transylvania. They settled the Saxons in Transylvania, granting them nationality privileges, and there was nothing to change in regard to the nationality of the Szekelys.

International scientific life well recognizes that there were populous villages, urban settlements, plow agriculture, industry, trade and use of money in the places where the Hungarians lived before the occupation of the homeland. This truly solid demographic and cultural background indicates the level of development of the Hungarians who occupied the homeland and it made them capable of accepting and organizing the conditions they found in the Carpathian basin. In the Carpathian basin they found, before all others, Slavs and they developed their fate with them. On the occasion of the millennium all of Christian Europe celebrated the founding of the Hungarian kingdom. And this is a standard in regard to what people the historic task fell on in the Carpathian basin. And yet the studies in the volume by the Romanian historians rank order the peoples, including the Hungarians, according to their level of development in a way which is not in harmony with the experience of the science of history. And in judging the Hungarians, unfortunately, there are offensive formulations too.

Hungarian history of the 10th century has many disputed problems which are difficult to clear up. But it is above all dispute that those who occupied the homeland not only occupied territory, they also founded a home. This should not be ignored when judging their deeds.

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ALBANIA

TECHNICAL-MILITARY TRAINING DISCUSSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Jun 77 p 3 AU

[Article by Spartak Stefani: "A Sound Ideopolitical Preparation, A Basis for Technical-Military Training"]

[Excerpts] At the Seventh Party Congress Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: "It is necessary to further strengthen and deepen the struggle against technocracy and intellectualism reflecting bureaucracy and leading to deviation from the proletarian ideology and policy of the party, weakening of the leading role of the working class in our society and underestimation of the role and creative thought of the masses." In the army, as everywhere, the party has always consistently waged the struggle against manifestations of technocracy, thus closely linking the party to the Marxist-Leninist education of cadres and giving priority always to Marxist-Leninist education over technical and professional education. Our party has taken comprehensive measures to prepare our military cadres and equip the army with modern weapons and equipment. The party has also established special military schools to train these cadres. The entire training process is an even more extensive school for training cadres during which they implement their practical knowledge and disseminate it to the mass of the active personnel.

Despite the results achieved, it happens that certain cadres lack initiative in some training and their theory is superficial. The source of this is failure to study the regulations thoroughly. Certain cadres, believing that if they study the technical codes they would be labeled technocrats, have begun their study. This is rather harmful.

The party and youth organizations and the commanders and staffs are striving more effectively to place the Marxist-Leninist education at the foundation of the political-military preparation of our cadres and active personnel. They are simultaneously struggling to strengthen the cadre-masses and officer-soldier relations by correctly implementing the principle of the mass line and by opposing any manifestation in which a cadre overestimates his professional skill and fails to properly listen to the voice of the masses, the voice of the soldiers, regarding particular problems. The same applies to those teachers who fail to properly listen to the voice of students

and ignore their remarks concerning lectures, seminars, programs and so forth. Occasions indicating that some teachers remain aloof from cadets and do not show concern for their activity beyond the teaching process are also frequent. Such attitudes are incorrect. They stink of technocracy and bureaucracy, and therefore, the grassroots party organizations have strongly criticized them. As in other fields of activity, such manifestations are rather harmful also for the army, and, if they are not resolutely opposed, they can have dangerous consequences.

In this respect one should keep in mind and implement into practice the great teaching of Comrade Enver that army personnel, from the plain soldier to the most responsible officer, should, in the first place, be political people so that Marxist-Leninist policy and ideology continually progresses in the army as it does everywhere else.

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

MYFTIU SPEAKS ON DRAFT PENAL CODE

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Jun 77 pp 1-2 AU

[Text of report "On the Draft Penal Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania," delivered on 14 June 1977 at sixth session of the eighth legislature of the Albanian People's Assembly by Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers]

[Excerpt] The entire draft of the penal code reflects the party's and Comrade Enver's teachings, as well as the spirit and principles of the constitution of our socialist state on the class struggle, which constitutes a great driving force for the advance of the socialist revolution.

The unmasking and smashing of the hostile, conspiratorial and sabotaging groups of Fadil Pacrami and Todi Lubonja, Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Cako, Abdyl Kellezi, Koco Theodosi and Kico Ngjela, are on the one hand, a victory for the party's line and, on the other, an indication of the bitter class struggle waged under current conditions.

The enemies of the revolution and socialism have always directed their blows against the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and against the party. If these efforts have failed and our state and party have grown constantly stronger, this is due to the fact that in our country the class struggle has always been correctly waged.

This class struggle is also directed against crime as a whole. Owing to this struggle, to the party's correct policy and to the great care shown by the party for the education of the new man with the ideals of communism, crime in our country has declined constantly and remarkably, contrary to what is happening in the capitalist and revisionist countries, where crime is an incurable and permanent disease of the exploiting system and where organized and professional crime is constantly growing and assuming gigantic proportions.

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHES NEW SYSTEM FOR POPULATION REGISTRATION

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 8 Apr 77 pp 305-309

[Decree No 15 of the Council of Ministers of 11 March 1977 Concerning the Introduction of a Unified System of Civil Registration and Administrative Services of the Population]

[Text] The Council of Ministers decrees:

Article 1. (1) Entrusts the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information with the leadership and coordination of introducing and developing the Unified System for Social Registration and Administrative Services of the Population (ESGRAON).

(2) The Committee for the Unified System of Social Information, the executive committees of the okrug people's councils and the Sofia City People's Council:

1. Are to organize the introduction and functioning of the system according to the indicators given in Appendix No 1;
2. Are to carry out from 1 to 30 November 1977 questioning for assembling the necessary data.

Article 2. All Bulgarian citizens and foreigners who have received permission for permanent residence in the nation are liable for civil registration.

Article 3. The introduction of a unified civil number for all Bulgarian citizens and for foreigners liable to civil registration is to be concluded prior to 31 December 1977.

Article 4. (1) For all citizens, a personal registration card is to be drawn up according to the model approved by the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information and agreed upon by the Commission for Executive Committees of the People's Councils Under the Council of Ministers.

(2) In the obshtina people's councils and in the constituent villages of the obshtinas which keep records of civil status, prior to 31 March 1978, new population registers are to be created on the basis of the personal registration cards. The present population registers are to continue to be kept until 31 December 1979, after which they will be stored and used as references.

Article 5. (1) From the data in the population registers, data files are to be created using technical carriers for computer processing.

(2) The ministries and other departments the computer centers of which handle the data files concerning the population are obliged to provide their maintaining and safeguarding against destruction, with the use of the data only by authorized individuals and organizations. The Committee for the Unified System of Social Information and the Ministry of Justice are to work out instructions on the procedure for the use of the data in the data files of the population by individual citizens, state and public organizations.

(3) The creation and maintaining of data files in the nation with information concerning the citizens which partially or completely duplicates the data in the ESGRAON are to be carried out only with the permission of the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information.

Article 6. (1) The Committee for the Unified System of Social Information is to provide the enterprises, institutions and organizations with aggregated information concerning the citizens through the ESGRAON, while the obshtina people's councils are to provide administrative services for the citizens according to the established procedure in conformity with Article 5, Paragraph 2.

(2) The institutions, organizations and their divisions are obliged to dispatch on the dates stipulated by the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information information to the obshtina people's councils, and they through the okrug people's councils to the appropriate computer centers for actualizing the data contained in the personal registration cards of the citizens.

Article 7. The Committee for the Unified System of Social Information is to provide the technical facilities for the functioning of the system, and for the city of Sofia is to utilize the computer equipment of the Sofia City People's Council.

Article 8. The Committee for Science, Technical Progress and Higher Education is to organize the scientific and technical expertise on the basic problems of setting up and developing the ESGRAON, for establishing the programs and financing the development of the system.

Article 9. (1) The Committee for the Unified System of Social Information, with the approval of the Commission for Executive Committees of the People's Councils Under the Council of Ministers and the other concerned departments

including the Committee for Science, Technical Progress and Higher Education, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, is to publish instructions and other information concerning the functioning of the system.

(2) Under the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information a coordinating council is to be set up for the ESGRAON with the participation of representatives from the Committee for Science, Technical Progress and Higher Education, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Commission for Executive Committees of the People's Councils Under the Council of Ministers, and this is to settle questions arising in the introduction and functioning of the system.

#### Concluding Provisions

§ 1. The Ordinance Governing Civil Status (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 75 of 1975) is to be amended and supplemented according to Appendix No 2.

§ 2. Points 3 and 4 of the Order No 20 of the Bureau of the Council of Ministers of 1976 are to be struck.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers:  
St. Todorov

Chief Secretary of the Council of Ministers:  
Iv. Shpatov

#### Appendix No 1 to Article 1, Paragraph 2, Point 1

##### Information Scope of the Unified System for Civil Registration and Administrative Services of the Population (EAGRAON)

No	Name of indicator	Content	
		On personal registration cards	In data files of okrug
1	2	3	4
1.	Name	first name father's name family name second family name pseudonym sex	first name father's name last name second last name

1	2	3	4
2.	Unified Civil Number (EGN) date of birth  sex	year of birth month of birth day of birth ranking of EGN and sex control figure	year of birth month of birth day of birth ranking of EGN and sex control figure
3.	Citizenship	affiliation to state	code of corresponding affiliation
4.	Birthplace place of birth  date of birth  birth certificate	okrug obshtina population point year month day number date	okrug obshtina population point
5.	Place of residence	okrug obshtina population point	okrug obshtina population point
6.	Domicile population point  address	okrug obshtina population point RNS [rayon people's council] section name of housing complex, square, boulevard, street building number entry number floor number apartment number	okrug obshtina population point RNS section code and name of hous- ing complex, square, boulevard, street building number entry number floor number apartment number
7.	Education primary  secondary	degree group (general specialty) variety (narrow specialty) degree group variety	degree group (general specialty) variety (narrow specialty) degree

1	2	3	4
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8. Labor data			
data for enterprise, organization or institution	name	name	
address of enterprise	okrug obshtina population point RNS section	okrug obshtina population point RNS section	
labor relations	number and date of order position/profession appointed to specialty	position/profession appointed to specialty	
9. Family status	family status	family status	
family status	number		
certificate	date		
data of spouse	ranking name EGN residence	ranking EGN	
children	names EGN residence sex	number	
parents:			
father	name EGN residence	EGN	
mother	name EGN residence	EGN	
blood and uterine brothers and sisters	names names of other parent		
10. Social group	type of social group	code and type of social group	
11. Personal passport	series number	series number	
12. Physical characteristics	height eyes nose	height eyes nose	

1	2	3	4
13.	Military registration	yes/no	yes/no
14.	Legal restrictions	type of legal restriction	code and type of legal restriction
15.	Death		
	date of death	year month day	
	death certificate	number date okrug obshtina	
	location of people's council issuing certificate	population point	
	cause of death	name of cause	code and name of cause

Appendix No 2 for § 1 of the Concluding Provisions

Amendment and Supplement of Ordinance Governing Civil Status  
(DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 75, 1975)

§ 1. In Article 3, the words "registers (files) of the population" are to be replaced by the words "personal registration cards of persons from which the population registers are formed."

§ 2. Paragraph 6 of Article 8 is to be deleted.

§ 3. Article 34 is to be amended as follows:

"Article 34. Each birth must be announced within a period of 5 days. The birth certificate is made out within this period, not counting the day of birth."

§ 4. In Paragraph 1 of Article 38, new Points 6 and 7 are to be created with the following wording:

"6. The unified civil number of the child and the parents;

7. Other data."

§ 5. Article 44 is to be amended and supplemented as follows:

1. In Point 3, after the word "citizenship" the word "and" is to be deleted and a comma inserted, and after the words "family status" the words "and the unified civil number" are to be added.

2. A new Point 6 is to be created with the following wording:

"6. Other data."

§ 6. Point 2 of Paragraph 1 of Article 51 is to be given the following wording:

"2. Name, date of birth, place of birth, occupation, place of residence, citizenship and unified civil number of the deceased;"

§ 7. In Point 1 of Article 55, the words "from 15 days" are to be deleted.

§ 8. In Paragraph 1 of Article 70, a period is to be put after the words "population point." A new sentence is created with the following wording:

"The obshtina people's council at the residence of the person for whom a change of name is being made sends the information...."

The remaining text of the paragraph is kept.

§ 9. In Articles 31, 68 and 71, Paragraphs 5, 6 and 7, the words "10-day period" are to be replaced by the words "period up to 2 days."

§ 10. In Article 75, a new Paragraph 6 is to be created with the following wording:

"(6) The provisions of Paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 are to be applied until 31 December 1979."

§ 11. At the end of Article 76, a new sentence is to be added with the following wording:

"Unused certificates are to be accounted for and entered in the inventory for the following year."

§ 12. Article 79 is to be amended as follows:

1. In Paragraph 1, after the words "Registers of Civil Status" the words are to be added "and personal registration cards," and after the words "authorized persons can" the words are to be added "make inquiries."

2. To the end of Paragraph 2, a new sentence is added with the following wording:

"The periods for the keeping and destruction of the personal registration cards and other documents of the ESGRAON are determined upon the proposal of the Commission for the Unified System of Social Information according to the present law."

§ 13. Article 80 is to be amended as follows:

"Article 80. (1) The population registers are to be created from the personal registration cards of the citizens.

"(2) The population is to be registered by population points.

"(3) The unified civil number is to be entered on the personal registration cards of the citizens, on the identity documents, the civil status certificates and the documents issued on the basis of them.

"(4) The personal registration cards of the individuals are to include the name, the unified civil number and the residence of the parents, the children (natural and adopted) and spouse."

§ 14. In Article 81, Paragraphs 1 and 2 are to be amended as follows:

"(1) The personal registration cards are to include the following data: Name, unified civil number, citizenship, place of birth, place of domicile, education, labor data, family status, social group, number of identity document, physical characteristics, military status, legal restrictions, reason and date of birth, and residence.

"(2) For citizens who have received permission for permanent domicile in the nation, a separate section in the register is to be created from the personal registration cards filled out for them."

§ 15. A new Article 81a is to be created with the following wording:

"Article 81a. (1) The executive committees of the obshtina people's councils are responsible for the accuracy of the data in the personal registration cards. The executive committees of the okrug people's councils and the Sofia City People's Council are responsible for the prompt remitting to the computer centers of the documents with the input data of the system, and they organize and supervise the elimination of the committed mistakes.

"(2) For unregistered residents of the obshtina, with questioning, when the whereabouts of the persons are unknown and cannot be discovered, the civil status official draws up an official personal registration card."

§ 16. A new Article 81b is to be created with the following wording:

"Article 81b. (1) The data concerning the citizens as defined in Article 81, Paragraph 1, are to be recorded on technical carriers from which the data files are compiled for machine processing of the population data.

"(2) The data from the files of the ESGRAON is used according to the procedure and method established by the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information and the Ministry of Justice."

§ 17. Article 82 is to be amended and supplemented as follows:

1. In Paragraph 2 the last sentence is to be amended as follows:

"On the basis of this information, the obshtina people's council of the previous residence deletes the person from its register and enters on the personal registration card the new residence of the citizen, it notifies the okrug or Sofia City administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it files the card in the archives section of the population register, and sends a copy of it to the obshtina people's council at the new residence. On the basis of the received copy, the obshtina people's council makes out a new personal registration card and enters it in the population register."

2. Paragraph 3 is supplemented with the following wording:

"(3) The personal card is not to be filed in the archives section of the population register before a copy of it has been sent to the obshtina people's council at the new place of residence and before this copy has been received."

§ 18. Article 84 is to be supplemented and amended as follows:

1. In Paragraph 1, after the words "place of residence" the words are to be added "or place of domicile."

2. A new Paragraph 2 is to be created with the following wording:

"(2) Documents concerning data contained in the personal registration card of the citizens can be issued by copying. After proper notarization, they have the validity of an official document."

3. Paragraph 2 becomes Paragraph 3, and is to be amended as follows:

"(3) For providing the citizens with personal passports, the civil status official fills out a document with the data required by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and also a statement that a personal passport has been issued, and sends this to the Sofia City or corresponding okrug administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."

4. Paragraphs 3 and 4 become, respectively, Paragraphs 4 and 5.

§ 19. In Article 85, Paragraph 1, after the words "obshtina people's council" are to be added "as well as nonresidents who live on its territory."

§ 20. In Article 86, the words "Ministry of Information and Communications" are to be replaced by "Committee for the Unified System of Social Information."

§ 21. After Chapter 7, Chapter 8 is to be created with the title "Administrative Punitive Provisions" with the following content:

"Article 88. (1) For violation of this ordinance, the guilty parties are to be punished according to Article 32 of the Law Governing Administrative Violations and Punishments, if the action is not subject to severer punishment.

"(2) Violations are established by statements drawn up by the bodies of the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information or by the people's councils, and the punitive rulings are handed down, respectively, by the chairman of the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information or by the chairmen of the executive committees of the okrug people's councils or officials authorized by them.

"(3) The corresponding provisions of the Law Governing Administrative Violations and Punishments are to be applied for drawing up the statements and issuing the punitive rulings."

§ 22. Everywhere in the ordinance, the words "card file" are to be deleted.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CPCZ CANDIDATE SPONSORS DESCRIBED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 10, 6 May 77 pp 36-37

[Article by Pavel Kertesz]

[Text] The improvement in the quality of the party's membership base, its numerical growth, and the recruitment of new members and candidate members are creating more and more demands that call for the dedicated and effective training of prospective party members, for a commitment to see to it that after people are accepted as candidates and after their candidacy comes to an end and they become full members they will become active fighters for and genuine supporters of the party's cause.

In terms of the concern that is shown for candidates for membership in the CPCZ an important role is also played by sponsors, who within the context of their responsible function are held accountable to the party for the proper recruitment and for the Marxist-Leninist training of new members and candidate members. This requirement is in complete conformity with the statutes of the CPCZ, which make basic party organizations and all their members most responsible for insuring the observance of the Leninist principle of membership qualification, while at the same time imposing the following rule: "Sponsors are responsible for making sure that their recommendations are credible and that they objectively describe the moral and political attributes of those persons whom they recommend."

In the course of writing this article of the statutes the CPCZ was relying on the extensive experience of the CPSU, the international workers movement, as well as on its own experience, which unequivocally confirmed the great importance of the role played by sponsors, who are quite well acquainted with applicants and are convinced that the person they recommend will dedicate himself to the performance of his duties as a communist.

The function of the sponsor comprises two important areas of responsibility, i.e., the responsibilities and tasks associated with making a recommendation and responsibilities and tasks involved in the education and training of candidates for membership in the CPCZ.

A recommendation is an express political opinion on the part of the sponsor. It amounts to a sort of guarantee or assurance that the person who is applying for membership in the party takes the party seriously and will be worthy of the name of communist. Consequently, every sponsor is accountable to his party organization for the accuracy of his recommendation and for the fact that he has truthfully described the political, working, and moral characteristics and qualities of the person he has recommended, as well as for the veracity of the information given in that person's application for the status of candidate for membership in the party.

However, not every sponsor performs this important function in a consistent manner. In our party work we often encounter recommendations in which sponsors dash off their political opinion of the applicant in the form of a bare statement to the effect that: "I am acquainted with abovementioned, and I therefore recommend him to be admitted as a member of the party." Such a statement as this or ones similar to it do not give a party committee or basic organization hardly anything at all to work with and are at variance with the requirement set forth in the party statutes. Of course, neither are longwinded, vacuous character descriptions any better. Recommendations should be concise and to the point; they are supposed to form an important part of the investigation into the character and abilities of proposed candidates or new members, and they should enable party organs to gain a better understanding of applicants when it comes time to make final decisions.

It should therefore be realized that a party member who writes up a recommendation in a casual and frivolous manner is violating the party statutes and may even be making it easier for various careerists or even hostile elements to gain entry into the party. If a sponsor is going to write a proper recommendation, it is essential that he must be genuinely well acquainted with the person he is recommending, and this acquaintance should be based on a knowledge of this person's conduct both on the job as well as in public life. This requirement was even pointed out by V. I. Lenin, who after having found out that certain party members as an expression of their "goodwill" were giving out recommendations to anybody who wanted one, proposed that the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik) should issue the following memorandum: "Recommendations may only be made by those who for at least 1 year have personally witnessed the work performed by the person recommended in the course of working together with him within the functional scope of some party organization."<sup>1</sup> This requirement was made a part of the statutes of the Russian Communist Party, and it remains in effect up to this day.

A footnote to one of the points in the statutes of the Russian Communist Party, which were adopted at the 12th All-Russian Party Conference, states that, "sponsors are responsible for the persons they recommend, and in the event of unwarranted recommendations they are subject to party penalties up to and including expulsion from the party."<sup>2</sup>

1. V. I. Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol 44, p 121.

2. Viz "The CPSU Through Its Resolutions...," part 1, p 566.

In keeping with the Leninist requirements in this regard a recommendation is supposed to make note of the kind of attitude displayed by the applicant at his job and at home, what kind of personal life does he lead, what kind of work does he do for social organizations or how does he conduct himself in individual types of socialist competition, does he set an example by his work, by his academic accomplishments, and so on. It is also proper to refer to his ethical characteristics and especially to his level of ideological maturity and the nature of his world view. If an applicant works in an industrial plant but lives in the countryside, it is proper that at least one of his sponsors should be a member of a party organization in his place of residence.

To make an informed judgement about and present a realistic portrait of a recommended CPCZ candidate member and at the same time to be fully aware of one's own responsibility for such assurances is something that can only be accomplished by the kind of communist who has already had a great deal of experience and is politically mature. It is precisely for this reason that the party statutes require that sponsors must be a member of the party for at least 3 years and that they must have been acquainted with the person being recommended for at least 1 year both in terms of his occupational work and in terms of his public activities.

The length of membership in the case of sponsors was determined at the 12th Congress of the CPCZ. In view of the growing demands being placed on new party members the congress ruled that a recommendation may only be offered by party members who have been in the party for at least 3 years and at the same time expanded the number of sponsors required from two to three.

In Article 15 of the CPCZ Statutes it is stated that, "young people under 21 years of age who are also members of the Socialist Youth Union are usually admitted as candidate members on the recommendation of organs and organizations of the Socialist Youth Union, which is equivalent to the recommendation of one regular party member." There is nothing new about this form of sponsorship in terms of the way communist parties have traditionally gone about the task of recruiting new members. This kind of sponsorship emerged for the first time in the history of the modern communist parties at the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (bolshevik), which ruled that, "in admitting members of the Komsomol into the party the recommendation of a district committee of the All-Union Leninist Youth Union is equivalent to the recommendation of one regular party member, and young people under 20 years of age can only join the party through the Komsomol."<sup>3</sup>

Even in the party statutes that were adopted at the 12th Congress of the CPCZ it was stated that when CSM [Czechoslovak Union of Youth] members are admitted into the party the recommendation of a district or other local

3. "The CPSU Through Its Resolutions...", part 3, p 335.

CSM committee is equivalent to the recommendation of one regular party member. However, experience showed that if the recommendation furnished by the Youth Union is to be at all objective (considering that the district committee of the Youth Union cannot be personally acquainted with every person that is recommended), such a recommendation should be made by that organ or organization which is best acquainted with a given applicant. Consequently, the 13th Congress of the CPCZ amended the party statutes so that the recommendation of a CSM district committee was replaced by the recommendations of CSM organs and organizations.

The aforementioned provisions of the party statutes are an expression of the close relationship that exists between the party and the Socialist Youth Union, whose organs and organizations, in keeping with the party statutes, are supposed to propose those young people who are best qualified and dedicated to the cause of socialism for admission as candidates for membership in the CPCZ. In this way the organs and organizations of the Socialist Youth Union are able to take part in the process of admitting candidate members into the CPCZ. The CPCZ statutes imply that the regional committees of the SSM [Socialist Youth Union] can also serve as sponsors for candidate members, especially when it comes to considering the application of a member of these organs.

The basic organizations of the SSM work directly with young people; they know what kind of contribution is being made by whom to the work of the organization, how their members are developing in terms of their ideological and political maturity, and how they are performing in their work. The SSM participates in the process of recruiting, grooming, and recommending young people for membership in the party. But the fact remains that SSM organizations have not yet been set up at all workplaces and in all localities. It is precisely for this reason that it is not possible to nominate young people as candidate members solely and exclusively by means of the recommendation of the SSM.

The members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee do not give out recommendations proposing that certain people be admitted to the party, for if this were the case the recommendations of these comrades might in some cases influence the deliberations of a basic party organization or district committee. The right to admit new party members and candidate members is the sole prerogative of the basic party organization, which works directly with the working people, is best able to know the overall character profile of someone who submits a membership application, and bears full responsibility for its decisions.

A recommendation gives suitable assurance of the fact that an applicant for party membership is worthy of being a communist.

The second part of the sponsorship function has to do with helping basic party organizations to train candidate members and young new members. The importance of this function has already been accentuated by the CPCZ Central

Committee Guidelines on the Systematic Improvement in the Quality of the Party's Membership Base, the November 1974 session of the CPCZ Central Committee, as well as by the proceedings of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ. In order to provide for the consistent fulfillment of the requirement that the process of admitting new candidate members and full members into the party should be conceived of and carried out as an integral part of their preparation and training, it is going to be essential that the basic party organizations work a great deal harder than in the past. It should be noted in particular that the effective influence of sponsors on candidates has not yet become as systematic as it should be.

In the meantime there is a great deal of room for improvement in the work of sponsors. According to what candidates themselves have to say, they are helped most by sponsors from their own basic party organization. The activism of sponsors is directly reflected in the active party work of candidate members.

There are also objective reasons that contribute to weaker personal contacts between sponsors and candidate members. This situation is comparable to that experienced by apprentices, who at the end of their apprenticeship go off to take up various kinds of jobs in new work collectives. They lose contact with their sponsors, which in this case are usually vocational training teachers and masters. A similar situation occurs in the case of candidate party members who joined the party while serving in or just before joining the military. In a number of cases this fact may even lead to a situation in which candidate members who have taken a new job cease to be interested in membership in the CPCZ and wind up being stricken from the list of candidate members.

It has turned out to be a very effective practice if when candidates are being transferred to another basic party organization the committee of such an organization will designate a comrade who is to take over the duties of sponsor and see to the further preparation and political growth of a candidate member. For example, a good beginning in this direction is being made by the plant-wide party committees and basic party organizations of the East Slovakia Ironworks, the CHZJD [Juraj Dimitrov Chemical Plants] in Bratislava, and other plants. These basic party organizations are insisting that sponsors personally participate in the evaluations of candidate members made by the party committee or even by the internal party commission attached to the Central Committee of the CPSL. The factory committee of the CPSL at the East Slovakia Ironworks in Kosice requires that all of its basic organizations as well as all of its party groups devote systematic attention to the work of sponsors, and in the event that a candidate loses contact with his sponsor, these bodies are required to assign other members to the task of helping such candidates to become more active and more mature party members. In the basic organizations of the CPSL factory committee in the East Slovakia Ironworks at Kosice sponsors are encouraged to also monitor and control the progress of their candidates in their party educational courses.

The experiences of the CPSL factory committee in the East Slovakia Iron-works and in other large enterprises attests to the fact that many sponsors are working with their candidate charges in a systematic fashion. On the other hand, there are still many comrades who have failed to appreciate the importance of their role as sponsors and who work with their candidates or young members only on an occasional basis or not at all. One of the other causes of this negative phenomenon is the fact that nowadays, as a result of the growth of the membership base, many sponsors are called upon to work with from three to five candidates, which is undesirable from the standpoint of the responsibility of sponsors to engage in other forms of active party work. For this reason, the committees of the basic party organizations should also bear in mind this side of the question. They should exercise some control over the selection of sponsors and see to it that all sponsors fulfill their responsible function in a consistent manner.

District and other local party committees should also pay more attention to sponsors than they have in the past. They should guide and control their work, provide them with methodical assistance, and see to it that stronger contacts are established between sponsors and candidates, for it is the good work done by sponsors that will give rise to a further increase in the activism of candidates and thereby also bring about an increase in the action-readiness of basic party organizations.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY STATUTES ON THE EXERCISE OF CONTROL AUTHORITY

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 10, 6 May 77 pp 3-6

[Commentary]

[Text] Party organizations in industrial, transportation, commercial, and other plants and enterprises, in unified agricultural cooperatives, on state farms, and in planning organizations, design offices and research institutes that are tied directly to the production process are being called upon to fulfill an important mission in the drive to achieve the goals of the party's economic and social policies. Everything that is being done by these organizations is directly or indirectly related to the activities of the worker collectives, the development and advancement of processes dedicated to the production of material wealth, and the socialist education of the people. Party organizations do not take the place of business management, but they do have an influence on the development of production and on the economic policies of plants and enterprises by virtue of their political and organizational work in the worker collectives. To an increasingly greater extent, all aspects of this wide-ranging program are being characterized by the effort of the party organizations to promote the Leninist style of work, to consistently abide by the party statutes, and to extend the party's control authority.

The party statutes endorse the right of party organizations to exercise their control authority in reviewing the manner in which the management of an enterprise, plant, or institute carries out the policies of the party and the state, without at the same time completely taking over the functions of management personnel. In order to provide for the proper exercise of control authority it is necessary to exercise an effective influence on business officials so that through the creative performance of their management duties they will serve to carry out the economic policies of the party and the resolutions of leading party organs and so that in dealing with all of the substantive matters that affect the growth of their plants and enterprises they will take advantage of and put into practice the experience of communists and all working people.

The party statutes call upon basic party organizations to systematically develop and organize the initiative of the working people in the course of fulfilling the production plans of plants and work institutions for the purpose of increasing labor productivity, developing and introducing new technologies, and achieving a high degree of economic efficiency and product quality. Party organizations occupy a position of extraordinary responsibility when it comes to the mobilization of all working people in the course of revealing and utilizing internal untapped resources, and showing concern for the proper utilization of material and moral incentives, the development of socialist competition, increasing the skills and education of working people, the promotion of conscientious work attitudes, and adherence to the rules of political and work discipline.

Recent experience, including, among other things, the results of the membership meetings that were held at the beginning of 1977, shows that party organizations are gaining an ever deeper understanding of the nature of production and economic problems and that the collaboration of business management officials and party organizations is being strengthened. As a result of all the work they are doing, party organs at all levels are laying the groundwork for an upsurge in the political and work activity of communists and all working people.

Control work is not an activity that is isolated from all other aspects of party work; control work must be perceived as being an integral part of the party's entire work program. Likewise, the exercise of control authority is an integral component of the entire range of political-organizational, ideological, and educational work carried on by party organizations. The Leninist principle of collectivism demands that the membership meeting, as the supreme organ of the basic party organization, should play a critical role in this regard.

The right to exercise control authority does not place a party organization in the position of a pre-eminent organ, but neither does it allow it to be placed in a position that is subordinate to business management officials. The mutual collaboration and interconnection of a party organization and business management constitute an essential precondition for the successful implementation of the party's economic policies.

For the proper exercise of control authority it is essential that a party organization should always base its actions on general social interests which are manifested in the party's economic policies and in the resolutions of the central committee. Communists everywhere must guarantee that all outstanding questions will be settled in conformity with the party line so as to consistently face up to and resist expressions of parochial patriotism and all attempts to gain unwarranted advantages to the detriment of society as a whole. This demands that communists should gain a thorough understanding of the party's economic policies and the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee, promote the understanding of economic issues, carefully sound out the opinions of work collectives and professional workers, not be content with the status quo, and look constantly for ways to achieve better results.

Experience shows that in many places there is a certain amount of confusion as to how to exercise control over the fulfillment of tasks enjoined by the party's economic policies, what goals to set, and how this control function of party organizations should be understood in general. Fears are also being voiced about the replacement of business managers or about the duplication of production conferences.

The exercise of control authority at membership meetings should not amount to a replay of production conferences, which are intended to deal with professional and technical matters. In the course of discussing economic questions party organizations, above all else, must take a more comprehensive approach to the study of the political aspects of proposed solutions. The reports and proposals that are presented to membership meetings must show how the party's policies are being carried out within the jurisdiction of the party organization concerned, evaluate what has been achieved to date, identify main problems and weak points, and define goals toward which the organization must turn its attention. Membership meetings appraise the effectiveness of proposed measures and the realism of the tasks undertaken in the political and organizational work of the committees, party groups, communists in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth Union, and in other social organizations. The basic orientation that is to guide party organizations in the fulfillment of their tasks in the area of party economic policy is defined in the resolutions of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

At its third session in September 1976 the Central Committee of the CPCZ discussed the tasks of Czechoslovakia's metallurgical and engineering industries following the 15th Congress of the CPCZ. In the course of exercising their control authority the party organizations in these industries are basing their actions on the resolutions arrived at by this Central Committee session. They are directing their attention toward the improved utilization of capital assets, increased labor productivity and materials conservation, maximal utilization of metals, the rationalization of fuel and energy consumption, technological development, improved product quality and product technical standards, and the further refinement of technological processes.

They are seeing to it that business management spells out these tasks in concrete terms that correspond to actual working conditions and makes an effort to see that they are carried out. Their political-organizational work is focused on the consistent fulfillment of tasks arising out of the resolutions of the 15th Congress and the meetings of the CPCZ Central Committee. They are encouraging communists and all working people to take an active part in the fulfillment of these tasks, to uncover untapped resources, and to give support to the movement dedicated to high efficiency and high product quality.

At the present time party organizations in the construction industry are concerned with carrying out the tasks arising out of the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee held in March 1977. In the construction industry the general public interest is now to be served by adapting the structure of existing plant capacities to the requirements of the capital construction plan,

speeding up construction rates and completing building projects on time, and mobilizing internal unused capacities. In order to do this it will be necessary to accentuate the political and organizational role of party organizations on a broad scale, to contribute to the proper understanding and effective implementation of the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee, to promote the awareness among all building workers that they are in charge of their work places, to develop a sense of commitment to the protection of socialist property and the results of social labor, and to instill in people a highly developed sense of responsibility for the performance of the tasks to which they are assigned.

The basic orientation to be followed by party organizations in JZD's [unified agricultural cooperatives] and on state farms was set forth at the April 1975 session of the CPCZ Central Committee which was concerned with current tasks in the development of agriculture. In the course of exercising their control authority their attention is directed toward bringing about an increase in the output of agricultural products, insuring national self-sufficiency in the production of food, solving the grain problem, providing for the maximal utilization of arable lands, securing necessary supplies of fodders from meadows and pasturelands, reducing production costs, and so on. Party organizations are working actively toward the fulfillment of tasks related to the ongoing process of specialization and concentration in agriculture.

The extension of the control authority of party organizations in agricultural plants and enterprises is contingent upon bringing about an increase in the amount of interest in the advancement of cooperative democracy, the active participation of cooperative farmers and state farmworkers in control work, improving the quality of production conferences, better labor organization, and the reinforcement of labor discipline.

The work of party organizations in scientific and planning institutes is aimed at the attainment of objectives proposed by the project plans, stronger ties between scientific centers and the production process, dedicated work on behalf of the more rapid introduction into production of scientific research results and new technical and technological achievements.

In exercising their control authority party organizations in the trade and services sector are striving to bring about an increase in the quality of management work, an increase in the responsibility of trade and service workers, the development of socialist competition, and the improved education of workers in the proper attitude that should be shown toward consumers. They are being called upon to wage an uncompromising struggle against unfair sales practices and for high quality in services provided to the public.

In order to exercise control authority it is necessary that party organizations should independently investigate and verify the current status of work toward the fulfillment of tasks and increase the degree to which communists in business management positions are held accountable for the development of production and the economic health of plants and enterprises.

In the course of conducting control investigations it is often found that some party organizations are not adequately living up to this important requirement spelled out in the party statutes. They are content to merely submit the reports of business management officials to committee and membership meetings on the fulfillment of state plan tasks. At the same time these reports in many cases do not adequately respond to the issue of urgent tasks, omit any analysis of current problems at working levels, and fail to point out the causes of shortcomings and the mandatory measures that must be adopted to insure the complete fulfillment of tasks. It is not enough for business management personnel to simply review progress made toward the fulfillment of plan indicators, and such reviews are often only concerned with quantitative factors. On the contrary, their reports should serve as a critical analytical tool, and they should show how management, working together with party, trade union, and youth organizations and the entire work collective, is to proceed toward the fulfillment of tasks and the solution of internal problems.

The independent investigation and verification of the status of work toward the fulfillment of tasks is a job calling for a high sense of responsibility. In order to complete such a job it is necessary for a party organization to draw together the facts and information provided by laborers, foremen, engineers, communists, and non-party members employed in the various departments of a given plant, to verify this information at the point where it is collected, and, working together with management, to find appropriate solutions to problems and the most effective ways and means for the mobilization of unused capacities, the elimination of shortcomings, and reinforcement of discipline and responsibility among the workers. Such a comprehensive view of the way in which control authority should be exercised and of the use of multilateral forms of action based on the specific kinds of conditions that exist at the working level may make a clear contribution to the improvement of managerial work and the promotion of worker initiative.

At the beginning of 1977 the Central Control and Revision Commission of the CPCZ conducted an investigation to find out how the all-plant committee and the plant organization of the CPCZ at the Tesla plant in Prelouc was going about the exercise of their control authority in terms of the amount of emphasis placed on production quality and efficiency. The investigation revealed that the party organization was acting in a proper manner by requiring quarterly analyses of the plant's economic performance and reports on the fulfillment of the plan and on the activities of individual organizational units, even though it made little use of its own findings based on the suggestions of party groups and social organizations. Little attention was devoted to evaluating how workers in responsible positions were carrying out tasks and what kinds of decisions were being made for the purpose of eliminating the causes of shortcomings. Control investigations were not being conducted on a regular basis.

Some party organizations gained a great deal of experience in the course of exercising their control authority. This was borne out at the time when the members of the committees, working in cooperation with leading workers, foremen, and technicians, were called upon to make a study of the fulfillment of

tasks in departments where problems had been accumulating or where shortcomings had come to light in the area of work supervision and organization. The results of the study were then discussed at committee and membership meetings. The effectiveness of the exercise of control authority must be reflected in the actual fulfillment of plan targets, especially in terms of their qualitative aspects.

An effective contribution is also being made by working conferences and meetings attended by the managers of plant workshops and departments, the leaders of party groups, officials of social organizations, leaders of socialist labor brigades, engineers, and technicians. These conferences review the resolutions of membership meetings on plan fulfillment performance and the elimination of shortcomings.

As the workload imposed by current and future tasks increases it becomes necessary to take a more thorough and business-like approach to the process of finding solutions to various questions, identifying unused capacities, and strengthening the ties between party organizations and working people. To this end, the enterprise and plant-wide committees in large plants and enterprises have set up economic commissions or temporary working groups which are helping to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of control authority. The commissions carry out studies on the fulfillment of plan targets, the introduction and utilization of new equipment, the utilization of capital assets and current assets, increases in economic efficiency, and so on. They then present these studies together with suggestions and recommendations for discussion to the appropriate party committees and membership meetings.

In a number of plants and enterprises these commissions are gaining more and more new experience and are learning how to use proper methods to conduct their work. These commissions must strive to make sure that they do not function as mere record-keepers of various shortcomings, rather they must come forward with specific suggestions and proposals on how to deal with these shortcomings. They must try to make a careful analysis of all major questions and to discuss such matters with management officials. Their work in this area is helping to promote a sensitive and respectful attitude toward the observations and suggestions made by workers and at the same time to prevent unjustified acts of interference in the supervisory work of management officials. In spite of the several shortcomings that exist in the work of these commissions, they are pointing the way to a future increase in the activism of both communists and non-party members in the effort to improve production quality and efficiency.

The findings and experience of the plant-wide and enterprise control and revision commissions are also helping the plant-wide and enterprise party committees. In line with the party statutes and guidelines governing their work, they are striving to broaden the scope of party control work and to strengthen party and state discipline, and the sense of responsibility displayed by communists in terms of their commitment to the tasks to which they have been assigned and to the consistent implementation of resolutions

concerned with the party's economic policies. The results of their control work are presented to membership meetings and to meetings of the all-plant and enterprise party committees. This work is helping to broaden the scope of the control functions exercised by party organs and organizations.

The fact that party organizations are conducting their own studies of these problems does not mean that the supervisory duties of business management officials are being taken over or that their authority is being diminished. Before such studies are presented to membership meetings they must be discussed with appropriate management officials so that appropriate measures can be advanced and worked out to deal with any problems that have been brought to light.

It is the responsibility of a party organization to support the decisions and measures adopted by management officials with a view to the consistent fulfillment of plan targets. The party's economic policies, general social interests, and the national economic plan combine to form the unshakeable foundation on which rests the unity and the common approach of business management and the party leadership.

The party has raised to the front ranks of plants, enterprises, institutes, and so on politically mature and qualified workers who have demonstrated their effectiveness in the realization of the party's policies. The party is also systematically demonstrating its interest in the professional growth of management cadres in the business world. Management officials gain authority primarily by virtue of their "abilities and knowledge, their uncompromising support for general social interests, their conscientious and dedicated work, their ability to put forward new and progressive ideas, their modesty, and their respectful attitude toward people and their concerns and needs," as was emphasized by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

The united front presented by business management and the party leadership in plants, enterprises, and institutes can only be formed on the basis of the party's policies, ethical relationships, and the joint responsibility of the party organization and business management in the course of the struggle on behalf of the detection of unused capacities, obedience to the law, and the fulfillment of tasks assigned by the state plan. The support of business management officials is not to be confused with taking a benevolent attitude toward various negative phenomena, concealing unused capacities, speculation, and the deception of higher party and state organs.

In actual practice it sometimes happens that different approaches and opinions emerge in the course of trying to find solutions to various questions. These differences must be overcome in an atmosphere of comradely debate, criticism, and self-criticism. All facts at issue must be carefully studied, views must be reconciled, and then the correct solutions must be adopted. In order to bring about the collaboration of the party leadership and business management in the interest of promoting the party's policies it is essential that this Leninist method of problem-solving should be followed. If agreement cannot be

reached, a party organization committee is required to immediately so inform a higher party organ and request its assistance in resolving the problem at issue.

The proper exercise of the control authority to review the activities of business management does not infringe upon the responsibility and authority of management officials. On the contrary, it helps them to improve their organizational and supervisory work, to bring about order and discipline, to overcome difficulties and problems, and to implement adopted programs. The correct approach is being taken by those party organizations which regularly include on the agenda of their membership meetings questions having to do with plan fulfillment and the promotion of increased product quality, the development of socialist competition and worker initiative. Communists are being called upon to perform specific tasks aimed at lending support to programs initiated by business management. And by the same token it is of vital importance that management officials should be called upon more and more often to take more decisive action aimed at overcoming shortcomings, in the area of labor organization, in managing the flow of material and technical supplies, and in the management of raw materials and energy resources, improving the utilization of machine installations, promoting technological refinements, increasing the number of shifts worked, and so on.

What is most important, however, is to make sure that the making of decisions is always followed up by their consistent implementation, both on the part of business management and on the part of party organizations, and the exercise of systematic control over the fulfillment of official resolutions in the event that a given work project is not carried through to its proper conclusion.

The party statutes require that in the exercise of their control authority party organizations should utilize information provided by workers and trade union and youth organizations as well as information provided by the people's control commissions, coordinate a combined effort on the part of all worker collectives, and see to it that an enterprise or plant fulfills its responsibilities to society. Worker participation in control work is a great achievement of socialism and a concrete manifestation of socialist democracy. This participation is a function of the very nature of the ownership of the means of production under socialism and of the position of the working class in the system of social production. For this reason, our party is showing a great deal of concern for the assimilation of the broad ranks of the working people into the process of active participation in the management and control of plants, enterprises, institutions, and the entire national economy. This participation helps to improve the quality of management work performed by business and state organs so as to provide for the consistent fulfillment of the socialist development program set forth by the communist party.

Party organizations and business management officials have an interest in the systematic strengthening of their ties with the worker collectives of plants and enterprises and in taking advantage of the experience, knowledge, and initiative of the people. A respectful and sensitive attitude on the part of

party committees and business management officials toward the suggestions, proposals, critical observations and complaints is an integral element in the implementation of socialist management methods and the Leninist style of work.

It is the responsibility of party organizations to work toward the goal of seeing to it that business management officials put into practice the results and conclusions of production conferences, the suggestions and observations of worker collectives, innovators, inventors, comprehensive rationalization brigades, competing collectives and individual workers, socialist labor brigades, the "Young People's Reflektor," and so on. The technical-economic conferences on current production tasks have proven themselves to be an effective advisory tool in a number of plants and enterprises. They are concerned with making sure that suggestions and proposals are thoroughly investigated and dealt with in a timely fashion and that appropriate measures are adopted and put into effect. They are making a large contribution to improving production quality and increasing production efficiency. At the same time, the personal responsibility of individual management officials is of indispensable importance.

A management official who knows how to deal with people, with communists, and with the officials and members of social organizations is able to better express real needs in his decisions and orders and to win the support of a collective for such decisions and orders.

In some plants it has proven to be effective to include on the agenda of membership meetings reports on the handling of suggestions made by communists and non-party members. This makes it possible for all members of a party organization to take part in control work, for management to develop a more responsible attitude toward the initiative of the people, for proper suggestions and proposals to meet with a favorable reaction, and for explanations to be given as to the reasons why unrealistic or unwarranted suggestions cannot be accepted. This practice simultaneously helps to promote criticism and self-criticism and to eliminate shortcomings in the fulfillment of plan targets, in the maintenance of state discipline, and so on.

Experience shows that it continues to be necessary to promote increased interest on the part of business officials and basic party organizations in taking advantage of outside sources of information and suggestions. It is also necessary to see to it that proposals and suggestions which cannot be acted upon within the jurisdiction of the management of a plant or enterprise should be passed on, together with management's own opinions, in a timely manner to higher business and state organs, and an official request should be made for a reply.

The activities of business management are also subject to the review of higher business organs, special control organs, people's control committees, and so on. It is the responsibility of party organizations to discuss at membership meetings the results of their control investigations and to adopt official party resolutions and measures designed to eliminate the shortcomings that

are ascertained. There is still a great deal of room for improvement in terms of the better utilization of information provided by working people, trade union and youth organizations as well as information provided by special control organs. The improvement in the quality of this work is helping to promote unity at the work collective level, to reinforce the leading role of party organizations, to overcome bureaucratism, laxity, and apathy, and to provide for the consistent advancement of general social interests.

In the course of increasing the effectiveness with which control authority is exercised an especially significant contribution is being made by the differentiated management of basic party organizations and the substantive assistance being furnished by district party committees. It continues to be necessary to take a thorough and business-like approach to the task of improving the administrative controls of basic party organizations, providing for the better training of the basic party aktiv, and creating favorable conditions that will be conducive to the mastery of effective forms and methods of work, i.e., the Leninist style.

At the present time, when we are concerned to provide for the further development of our economy, the process dedicated to improving the procedures by which the party exercises its control authority is of exceptional importance. For this reason as well, the resolution of the fifth session of the CPCZ Central Committee of 19 November 1976 on the state plan for the development of the national economy during 1977 stressed that the foremost task facing all party organs and organizations is to lay the groundwork through their day-to-day political, organizational, ideological, and educational work for the all-round fulfillment of the plan and to take full advantage of their control authority over business management in order to promote general social interests, high production efficiency, and high product quality. This resolution makes it binding upon party organizations to support the business officials who are responsible for managing their assigned collectives and who promote efficient courses of action in the fulfillment of plan targets. It is the duty of communists to set an example by their work and to mount a struggle against shortcomings, speculation, inconsistency, and apathy. At the same time it is necessary that party organizations should take advantage of all effective political mechanisms in order to mobilize the working people and in order to channel their working energies toward the fulfillment of critical plan targets.

Consistent obedience to the rules set forth in the party statutes in the course of exercising the party's control authority increases the prestige and strengthens the position of party organizations among the collectives of working people employed in plants and enterprises, and it makes it possible to marshal the forces of both communists and non-communists for the purpose of eliminating shortcomings and fulfilling the tasks set forth by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST PEACE STRATEGY IN VIEW OF BELGRADE ANALYZED

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[Serialized article by Guenter Kohrt, GDR Ambassador to the PRC, 1964-1966:  
"Socialist Strategy of Peace in Action"]

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[Text] I. Detente, Helsinki and Belgrade

Progress has never been presented to mankind on a silver platter. That applies to individual nations and to international politics. Never before has an exploiter class departed from the scene without resistance. The lasting peace, the ideal image of the world held by humanists of all kinds is likewise something that cannot be had without a fight. What has been achieved in support of peace today had to be wrested from its opponents in a hard, tough struggle. This struggle continues because the opponents of a lasting peace, who have established themselves in the imperialist world, have never yet laid down their arms. The way in which the conflict between the two opposing tendencies looks right now and the way the struggle will continue are things that cannot be immaterial to anybody.

1. Is Peace Becoming more Secure?

Socialism, such as it really exists, will gain additional strength this year. That is good because it is not Western arms capital but peace that will benefit from that. Through the good development of our socialist homeland, we are making a contribution to advancing and strengthening the community of socialist peoples and states. The historically tested truth is at issue here: the stronger socialism is, the safer will peace be. The continually growing strength of socialism, such as it really exists, decisively improves the chances of making peace stronger and more lasting.

## Peace--Not a Present from Heaven

The existence of socialism alone of course is not yet a guarantee for peace. The period of peace which Europe has now enjoyed for 32 years--the longest peacetime in our century--did not come out of a clear sky. It was achieved through tireless struggle. Nothing will change on that in the foreseeable future, either. The year 1977 already will demand further tests of strength of us in our struggle for a lasting peace and security.

In the Western world, the antideente forces, which feel comfortable in the political landscape of the Cold War and which have not yet banished even a hot war from their dreams, have become extremely mobile. They include not only people such as Franz Josef Strauss or the professional revanchist Hupka, the British Tory politicians Heath and Mrs. Thatcher, the American senator Jackson and all their kindred souls in the NATO headquarters. All the way into Western government circles we find forces who block the continuation of detente and peaceful coexistence.

Today it is not only urgently necessary but it has become entirely possible to ban war forever from the lives of nations. Mankind is sick and tired of experiencing peace only as a break between two wars! "Although world peace is by no means guaranteed, all of us have reason to say with certainty: the growing healthy condition of the international climate is convincing proof of the fact that the materialization of a lasting peace is not a pious wish but rather entirely a realistic task. To accomplish this task, one must and can continue to work without sparing one's strength!" (L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress).

There are good opportunities for the continuation of this successful way of consolidating peace this year likewise. One must not allow them to be missed. In a few weeks, it will have been two years since the leading statesmen of 33 European countries as well as the United States and Canada concluded the CSCE with the solemn signing of the final act of Helsinki. This document--which makes the principles of peaceful coexistence the behavior norm in relations between the participating countries--has laid a good foundation for a stable peace system. "The Helsinki conference has created more favorable conditions for bringing about peace in Europe and throughout the world. When all sides, like the GDR and the other states of the socialist community, implement the stipulated code of principles of international relations, when they implement all parts of the final act in its entirety, then a broad field will be opening up for mutually advantageous cooperation in many areas" (Erich Honecker at the Ninth Congress of the SED).

## 2. To Belgrade with a Good Record

The international public is increasingly looking toward Belgrade. In keeping with the final act of Helsinki, a meeting will be held there this year by representatives of the country's participating in the CSCE.

The participating socialist countries come to Belgrade with a good record. Their baggage contains solid evidence of the fact that they have done much for the development of fruitful cooperation in Europe in agreement with the letter and the spirit of the final act. That includes new initiatives by the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, such as the proposals of the Bucharest conference of the political advisory committee in November 1976, which are aimed at the continuation of the detente process and its supplementation by military detente measures.

The GDR for its part has also made a great effort to fulfill the final act of Helsinki in terms of its inseparable unity. Since Helsinki, the GDR has entered into 53 treaties and agreements with 16 capitalist participating countries. Negotiations are currently in progress with 15 countries on another 40 treaties and agreements. This cooperation is developing rather well and extends to all of the three so-called baskets of the final act, that is to say, the ten fundamental principles of collaboration, the economic sector, and "basket 3," that is, cooperation in humanitarian and other fields.

The GDR maintains numerous contacts with leading politicians in capitalist countries. Opinions are exchanged on the continuation of mutually useful collaboration in the course of negotiations and political consultations. Economic and scientific-technical relations have been expanded significantly since Helsinki. May long-term agreements constitute a solid foundation for the present and the future.

The GDR has also done very much in the field of culture, contact, information exchange, etc.

#### Who Needs to Catch Up?

When it comes to products of literature, films, TV programs, etc., from capitalist countries the GDR disseminates a multiple of what can be found in those countries about the GDR. Other socialist countries can report similar situations. "On the whole, the peoples of the socialist countries are considerably better informed on life in the West than the working masses of the capitalist countries are informed on socialist reality" (L. I. Brezhnev at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Europe).

Tourism has developed extraordinarily. In 1976, 8.9 million GDR citizens visited socialist foreign countries; 2.8 million citizens visited nonsocialist countries. Last year, the GDR was visited by 7.9 million citizens from non-socialist countries, including 3.5 million persons from the FRG; 3.1 million visitors came from West Berlin; 17 million persons transited through the GDR. That is the same number as the population of the GDR! What country can point to similar results?

All in all: "We certainly have no deficit when it comes to information exchange and visitor traffic. And that applies to the ether as well as the transit lines, the number of visitors, and many other things. The

corresponding statistics are known internationally. From that we can tell that it is not we who have a lot to catch up on. The exact opposite is the case" (Erich Honecker at the Second Conference of the SED Central Committee).

The final act of Helsinki--which has been made available to the population in the GDR with more than 2 million copies containing the complete text--has been treated almost like classified matter in the FRG. It was communicated only to a rather exclusive group of people. The copies that were published did not even meet the requirements of the archives. The mass of the population learned nothing about the true content of the final act. It was instead misinformed through distorting commentaries. To attack the letter and the spirit of the final act, they used a multiple of printer's ink compared to what the publication of that document would have required. But the following had been agreed at Helsinki: "The text of this final act will be published in every participating country which will disseminate and publicize it as comprehensively as possible." This is where the need to catch up--which Erich Honecker mentioned--begins on the Western side.

### 3. No Opportunities for Opponents of Detente!

As in all fields, the GDR is guided by the determinations of the final act of Helsinki also in the area of culture, contacts, and information exchange. One might turn and twist the final acts as one wishes but there is no talk there of the right to spread revanchist and antendetente ideas, racial hatred, and war propaganda and certainly not attacks against the sovereignty and borders of other countries or a right to interfere in their internal affairs.

Certain reactionary circles in the FRG--who have recently been assaulting the GDR with a flood of such provocations--obviously overlooked the fact that activities of this kind are not permitted but are as a matter of fact outlawed and that they most crudely violate the final act of Helsinki. Among the principles of collaboration ("basket 1") we find such fundamental provisions as respect for the sovereignty of states, the inviolability of boundaries, respect for territorial integrity, as well as noninterference in the domestic affairs of other countries. In the so-called basket 3, which is insolubly connected with those principles, it also says that collaboration is aimed at "contributing to strengthening peace and understanding among peoples and to the intellectual enrichment of the human personality."

We might be permitted this question: does the sale of drugs or the dissemination of pornographic stuff have anything to do with "intellectual enrichment of the personality?" Or: is the acquittal and glorification of the border violator and double murderer Weinhold--who has the lives of two GDR border guard soldiers on his conscience--not completely contrary to the goals of "strengthening peace and the inviolability of boundaries? FRG justice has thus issued an open invitation to more murderers, to renewed attacks on the international boundary of the GDR. This is no longer a matter of having to "catch up"; instead, this involves an indispensable, fundamental change aimed at strict compliance with the final act of Helsinki.

Naturally, we need hardly mention that the escalation of provocations against GDR has no prospects whatsoever, even though FRG television a short time ago had been gushing about the "effects on the internal governmental structure of the GDR"--something which can simply be interpreted as a synonym for counter-revolution.

If, in spite of the resistance of the aggressive forces of imperialism, we can observe that detente has become the leading tendency in the international arena, then, we owe that not only to the greater power and force of attraction of socialism but also to the consistent and at the same time flexible peace policy of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. We will continue on this road.

#### Enemies of Detente Zeroing In

Certain circles in the imperialist countries, especially the openly anti-detente forces, have for a long time been getting ready for the Belgrade meeting in their own ways. They are increasingly zeroing in on Belgrade. Their main weapons are miserable lies and slanted provocations against the socialist countries. These people would like to reverse the trend toward peace which was sealed at Helsinki and they would like to drag the world back into the trenches of the Cold War in which they again feel comfortable. To mislead the public, they also distort the sense and the tasks of the coming Belgrade conference.

There has been much oracular talk for quite some time about a "revision conference" (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 20 July 1976), as if the thing at issue here was a review of the Helsinki final act. This is wishful thinking. The British newspaper, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, was babbling not only about a "conference to review the Helsinki agreement" but also went so far as to make the rather provocative threat that "the Soviet Union would have to be put in the dock" in Belgrade. If the representatives of the capitalist countries were to follow such "recommendations" and if they were to make themselves the prosecutors, then they would very quickly find themselves again in the dock in view of realities and their force of evidence! The magazine NEWSWEEK observed with regret that the "final act of Helsinki does not contain any provisions for punishment."

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG finally would like to pretend that the entire Helsinki conference and its significant peace document never happened by asserting that detente policy reached its "high point" in 1973. "Since then," meditates the leading newspaper of the FRG monopolies, "detente policy has been going down hill" and a "phase of decay" supposedly set in. If one follows these erratic utterances, then Gerald Ford, L. I. Brezhnev, Helmut Schmidt, and the other leading statesmen in the summer of 1975 in Helsinki gathered in the midst of the "decay phase"--not to spell out the principles of peaceful collaboration but to deliberate how peace could be made to go "down hill" even faster. This is the way in which the population of the FRG is being "informed" by the reactionary mass media and this is the way truth is being crudely distorted--freely according to Christian

Morgenstern's motto: "What must not be, cannot be." As for the rest, according to the viewpoint of the mouthpiece of the opponents of detente, one should not continue the "so-called policy of normalization toward the East" and "sanctions are in order" in the economic area. All of this is the language of the Cold War.

#### 4. Belgrade Meeting Must be Made a Success!

Naturally, the socialist countries are not impressed by such invectives and they will certainly not be deterred from consistently continuing the policy of a lasting preservation of peace. They are sure of the support of the peoples, including those in the capitalist states. The Belgrade meeting is neither an instance for complaints, nor a revision conference. It is a consultative gathering which serves to continue the process of detente. How timely are those remarks which were spoken, not today, but 22 years ago: "In the opinion of the Soviet government, the task of this conference is not to present some mutual accusations but rather to seek ways and means to reduce international tension and to create an atmosphere of confidence in relations between states" (N. A. Bulganin, Geneva Conference of the Heads of Governments of the USSR, France, Great Britain, and the United States, 18-23 July 1955).

The persistence, with which the USSR and, with it, the entire community of socialist states, continued on the road they had embarked upon and went on to success, springs from the continuity and sincerity of socialist peace policy. It has been confirmed that the policy of peaceful coexistence is not a temporary, tactical maneuver but rather a fundamental strategic orientation.

The socialist states will be guided by this basic line also at the Belgrade meeting. It is not the reactionary, antidebate forces or their mass media who will determine what will be at stake there in detail. The final act of Helsinki provides accurate information. Here, the participating countries declared their determination "to expand the process of detente, to develop it in depth and progressively to make it a lasting one." Only this forward-looking basic idea, aimed at a lasting peace, can determine the content of all future meetings. We are consequently concerned here with a constructive exchange of experiences on the results and continuation of detente.

The final act also contains determinations on the level and the manner of future meetings which has nothing whatsoever to do with quite a few of the misleading assertions in the Western mass media. In order to continue and to develop in depth the turning point which has materialized from the Cold War toward international detente, the countries participating in the Helsinki conference agreed that they would in the future make meetings of their representatives a steady feature of European politics. The first of these meetings will take place in Belgrade this year, specifically, "on the level of the representatives appointed by the foreign ministers." As far as the future is concerned, this first meeting, among other things, is supposed to "spell out suitable ways for holding additional conferences which could

encompass new gatherings of a similar nature and the possibility of a new conference." All of this can be read in the final act.

Apart from the previously mentioned basic determinations on the content of this meeting, there are as yet no agreements as to the date of the coming meeting and the details of its implementation. For this purpose, a preparatory meeting will take place in Belgrade on 15 June 1977 at which the "date, duration, agenda, and the other aspects of the meeting of the representatives appointed by the foreign ministers" will be spelled out. Only after this deliberation will we know further details about the time and the implementation of the actual Belgrade meeting.

##### 5. No More Vicious Cycle

The people of the GDR, like all European peoples, is most profoundly interested in making sure that the detente process will be continued successfully and that the enemies of detente and the supporters of the Cold War will not get anywhere.

The yearning for a lasting peace is as old as humanity itself. After all, history so far has been not only a history of class struggles. The history of all exploiter societies at the same time was a history of war. The soil of Europe is soaked with the blood of countless millions of victims of the rapacious lust of despotic rulers and profit-hungry captains of the armament industry. During this century alone, imperialism plunged mankind into two world wars--the most barbaric wars in history which claimed the largest number of victims. They started in Europe. Today, the peoples are no longer facing a war helplessly, like their ancestors--perhaps like a natural catastrophe that cannot be averted. The change in the international situation today has given rise to the real possibility of once and for all doing away with the disastrous vicious cycle "war--postwar period--war preparations--another war."

#### II. Socialism and Peace Inseparably Interconnected

Millions upon millions of people on all continents are today actively working for the preservation and protection of world peace. They are no longer working in isolation from each other but instead are more and more effectively combining their forces. And here is the decisive aspect: the fight for peace today has a strong material base--the international socialist system. It is a historical law now that socialism, such as it really exists, has proved to be the strongest and decisive driving force in the fight for a lasting peace and for national independence and social progress. Socialism and peace belong together inextricably. The essence of socialism itself is the main source of its action as a peace factor. Theory and practice bear witness to that a hundred times over. We might recall some of the essential factors here.

##### 1. Predictions of Classical Authors Came True

In socialist society, there are no classes or strata which would be interested in a war or which could get rich from the arms race, as is the case

in the imperialist countries. Under socialism, there are neither objective, nor subjective factors, there are neither political nor social roots for a policy of war and aggression. The socialist revolution has written on its flags the slogans of abolishing capitalist exploitation and of liberation of mankind from the scourge of war. Karl Marx had this to say about this basic feature of socialism: "In contrast to the old society, with its economic misery and its political insanity, a new society is springing up whose international principles will be peace..." (Marx, Engels, WERKE, Vol 17, Dietz Publishers, Berlin 1962, p 7).

Friedrich Engels rather drastically expressed the attitude of the working class toward war when he emphasized that the revolutionary workers would have to be "mad if they wanted war." And he added that "the socialists in all countries are for peace" (Marx, Engels, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, Berlin, Vol 22, p 256).

V. I. Lenin finally led the Great October Socialist Revolution to victory almost 60 years ago primarily with the slogan of peace. And the first word from the young Soviet government was "peace." From this historically developing inevitability of the temporary parallel existence of socialist and capitalist states, Lenin drew the conclusion that the struggle between the two systems must be conducted without war. Lenin thus developed those basic ideas and principles of peaceful coexistence which at last, after almost six decades, were made into the obligatory norm for relations between socialist and capitalist participating countries in the final act of Helsinki.

## 2. Is Socialist Construction Conceivable in War?

Asking this question also means answering it. The grandiose construction of socialism and communism, which is aimed at the well-being of man and not at his destruction, needs peace and more peace. By how many years was the development of the Soviet Union held back as a result of imperialist intervention, civil war, and the barbaric aggression of German fascism! And what changes have taken place in the world situation in favor of socialism during years of peace! The share of the CEMA countries out of the world's industrial output rose by 17.5 percent to a figure of about 38 percent between 1950 and 1975; this was achieved with a population that amounts to about 7-8 percent of the world's population. During the same period of time, the share of the USSR out of the world's industrial output grew from 12.0 to more than 20 percent while the relative share of the United States during that time dropped from 43.6 to 25.4 percent. The USSR will within the foreseeable future have caught up with the United States, the leading power of imperialism, in industrial production. It presently turns out more than 1/5 of all goods produced throughout the world. The Soviet Union is leading the nations of the world even now in terms of the absolute production of such important commodities as coal, pig iron, steel, petroleum, mineral fertilizer, and dozens of other products! Who in the socialist world would wish to endanger this development, which is taking place to the benefit of that socialist world, through a war? And there is one thing we must not forget: a modern war would be a thermonuclear war with unimaginable

destructive force which would not stop at any people and any social system.

### 3. Basic Task of Socialist Foreign Policy

It is therefore only logical that the fundamental task of socialist foreign policy consists in guaranteeing the most favorable external conditions for the buildup of socialism-communism. Socialist foreign policy is class policy. What will the face of the world look like after several more five-year plans of socialist construction! Who would deny that the favorable external conditions for the humanistic effort of socialism are to be sought, not in war, but in lasting peace. This basic orientation of socialist foreign policy, developed by V. I. Lenin, is today the guideline of the foreign policy action of all countries of the socialist community and their Marxist-Leninist parties. "We do not conceal the fact that we consider detente to be a way toward the creation of more favorable conditions for peaceful, socialist and communist construction. That merely confirms that socialism and peace cannot be separated from each other" (L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th Congress of the CPSU).

The Marxist-Leninist view of the dialectical reciprocal relationship between socialism and peace was also convincingly presented by Erich Honecker at the Ninth Congress of the SED: "The stablest pillar, which supports world peace, is the force community of socialist states because the strength and power of socialism serves peace throughout the world. Peace, in turn, makes it possible for socialism fully to unfold its advantages. This corresponds to the first fundamental principle of our foreign policy to secure the most favorable international conditions for socialist and communist construction." Since Red October, six decades proved a hundred times over: socialism needs peace and it creates peace.

### 4. Socialist Revolution--Not for Export

Day after day, the reactionary imperialist opinion molders keep repeating the litany to the effect that the socialist countries are "threatening" the West militarily because they did not renounce the idea of extending communism all over the world.

The particularly hard-line bourgeois "political science experts" dress this up in the schizophrenic assertion that the Soviet Union wants to rule the world in this manner. The authors of such inventions of course know that they are spreading lies. But they do it nevertheless and they therefore do it maliciously.

The manner and the accompanying circumstances clearly reveal the intentions:

Honorable citizens of capitalist countries should be chilled by the thought that Red tanks are rolling toward their homes. Such horror stories--according to their inventors--could make people inclined to shell out even more for this crazy arms race and piously to bear the growing social misery of everyday

capitalist existence. Is it a coincidence that, in the imperialist countries, the campaign of lies about an alleged threat from the east always bursts upon us like a flood whenever the arms budget is up for debate?

Another intention is no less weighty: whipping up anti-sovietism and anti-communism. The slander of socialism, such as it really exists, is considered a suitable means for confusing and weakening the revolutionary worker movement in the capitalist countries and, if possible, separating those workers from their class brothers in the socialist world. One way or another, everything boils down to the objective of consolidating the now shaky rule of monopoly capital.

But truth is stronger than the imperialist web of lies. Decisive initiatives and proposals for peace and security, for international detente and disarmament have been springing for decades from the community of socialist states and especially from the USSR. The idea behind the successful Helsinki conference did not come from the government offices of the imperialist world. It was born in the countries of the socialist community and it was pushed through against the initially stubborn resistance of the imperialist powers. The Soviet Union has been coming out in support of the principles of peaceful coexistence for 60 years. Today, those principles have assumed the shape of international law. The decisive milestones on this road were set by socialism.

[Signed to press 18 Apr 77, pp 3-4]

The imperialist lies about a threat from the East, about the violent spread of communism, are refuted not only by the practice of socialist foreign policy. They are also in crass contrast to Marxist-Leninist theory.

#### The Peoples Decide Themselves

Marxism-Leninism starts with the idea that the socialist revolution is the result of the internal development of society, the point where the class contradictions come to a head. Of course, the communists do not conceal their firm conviction that the socialist revolution--on the basis of the objective laws of epoch, the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism--will be victorious on our planet, moreover, completely victorious. But the peoples themselves decide when and how this is to happen. The socialist revolution cannot be forced upon any country by force of arms from the outside. Socialism is not for export. It works internationally through its successful buildup, through its humanist essence, through its all-around superiority over the antihuman capitalist system which cannot solve the problems of men. The strong influence of socialism springs from the force of action of its example, from solidarity with all movements fighting for progress and freedom, and from its peace policy.

### No Revolution Made to Order

V. I. Lenin extremely consistently took issue during the period of the Great October Socialist Revolution with the wrong view that one could internationally "whip up" the revolution by continuing the war with imperial Germany. Here is Lenin's answer: "Such a 'theory' would be a complete break with Marxism because the latter has always rejected the idea of 'whipping up' revolutions which developed to the extent that the class conflicts, which revolutions bring about, become increasingly acute" (V. I. Lenin, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, Berlin 1960, Vol 27, p 56). A few months later, in the summer of 1918, Lenin once again very sharply turned against "people who believe that a revolution could arise in a foreign land when made to order, by prior agreement. These people are either crazy or they are provocateurs" (V. I. Lenin, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, Berlin, 1960, Vol 27, p 480).

The countries of the socialist community do not deviate one inch from this strategic and political maxim of Marxism-Leninism. Socialism in all areas embodies the unity of word and deed, theory and practice.

### Competition Between Systems without War

So long as socialist and capitalist countries exist side by side, so long will there also inevitably be a competition and struggle between the two social systems. But the important thing is to eliminate war as a means for settling the dispute once and for all. A war fought with missiles and nuclear weapons would today jeopardize the continued existence of mankind. The NATO strategists, who love to tinker with the trigger of atomic war, must be stopped. There is no alternative for peaceful coexistence. Leading politicians in the imperialist world have also finally managed to realize this although only by necessity and as a result of a rather long-drawn-out process.

### Class Struggle and Ideological Struggle Unavoidable

If the policy of peaceful coexistence is consistently complied with and continued by all sides, then war can vanish from the lives of the peoples forever. There is one thing of course that peaceful coexistence cannot and will not bring about: it can cancel neither the class struggle in the countries of capital nor the ideological struggle between two social systems.

So long as the contradiction between capital and labor, between bourgeoisie and the exploited masses continues to exist, so long will the class struggle not vanish either. The profound, permanent crisis of capitalism, with all of its effects on the daily lives of the masses, will further bring this struggle to a head. This is objectively determined and it is not an invention of the socialist world. One special feature however consists in the fact that the class struggle against the all-powerful monopolies, especially against the arms race which is being heated up at the expense of the people, at the same time is a struggle for the preservation and protection of peace.

This ideological dispute between socialism and capitalism continues in a completely lawful manner also under the conditions of peaceful coexistence. The profound contrast between the two systems makes the struggle of ideas objectively unavoidable. Conducting the dispute in this field, barring the military component once and for all and replacing it with mutually advantageous collaboration--here in the final analysis lies the deeper meaning of peaceful coexistence.

When bourgeois politicians and mass media constantly demand of the socialist countries that they discontinue the ideological struggle and the propagation of socialist ideas, then they are thus getting into a crass conflict with their own daily practice. They themselves conduct the most severe ideological struggle against the USSR and the other socialist countries and keep waving the torn and tattered flag of anti-Sovietism and anticomunism. In other words: they demand the unilateral ideological disarmament of socialism such as it really exists but for themselves they demand the right of uninhibited propagation and organization of the counterrevolution. Nothing will come of that. By the way: the ideological dispute is being conducted with unequal weapons. While the reactionary imperialist forces in the struggle against socialism and for the justification of the frailties of imperialism resort to the means of lies and crude slander--because reality contradicts them--the socialist countries stick strictly to the truth and base themselves on incontrovertible facts. A seemingly unequal struggle--but, as historical experience teaches us, truth shall win out in the end.

#### No Chance for Export of Counterrevolution

Starting with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist states not only reject the export of the revolution. They are also the determined opponents of the export of the counterrevolution. It was not agreed in the final act of Helsinki to inflict damage upon socialism, to "destabilize" it or "to bring about a structural change" in it--the way in which the bourgeois opinion molders rather awkwardly tried to circumscribe the goal of restoring capitalism. The final act of Helsinki did not evaluate the two opposing social systems. That was not its purpose. But what it did spell out in an obligatory manner is represented by the principles for collaboration between the participating states which are contained in "basket 1." The principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of another country assumes an important place here. Only on this foundation can there be fruitful collaboration which will serve to consolidate peace. Anyone who violates these basic principles and anyone who wants to get at socialism through counterrevolutionary "destabilization" activities naturally cannot expect a polite reception or perhaps even the promotion of his dirty business. The final act of Helsinki must be strictly complied with by all participants.

#### 5. Historical Optimism of Communists

The communists are firmly convinced of the success of the struggle for lasting peace. "Our peace philosophy is the philosophy of historical optimism. Attaining a lasting peace is a completely realistic task. The Soviet communists

are convinced that the peace offensive--in spite of its complicated nature and the contradictions in the international situation--will lead to new successes in the consolidation of peace and security" (Andrey Gromyko, see HORIZONT, No 43, 1976, p 4). We too share this historical optimism. It permeates the peace strategy and policy of all countries of the socialist community.

In their optimism, the communists base their position not only on the experiences of their decades of struggle, which, through setbacks and defeats, has led the cause of peace and progress to great success. This optimism has a solid foundation under the significantly changed, present conditions of the struggle. It is based on the following:

The international balance of power which has changed in favor of peace and socialism;

The collaboration of the revolutionary mainstreams of our time, the socialist states, the international worker movement, and the national liberation movements;

The growing influence of the coordinated foreign policy of the community of socialist states;

The constantly growing strength of the international peace movement which is sustained by the love of peace of the working masses of all continents.

The decisive thing is the alliance and joint action of all forces working for peace, independently of the differing ideological positions. As a result of this collaboration, the front of the enemies of detente is now facing an insurmountable wall. Over decades of struggle, socialism's peace strategy proved its continuity and vital force. It withstood many trials until that change which demonstrated to the imperialist supporters of a new war the limitations of their possibilities and which opened real prospects for lasting peace to mankind.

## 6. Difficult Start for Peace Struggle

### Red October--World Turning Point

Side by side with the Soviet Union and Lenin's party, we will, in a few months, be celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. "The victory of the October Revolution is the main event of the 20th century which has fundamentally changed the entire course of mankind's development" (CPSU Central Committee Resolution, 31 January 1977, ND [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND], 4 February 1977). And what a change has taken place in the face of the world since the shots fired by the [cruiser] Aurora ushered in the new age: the epoch of the worldwide transition of mankind from capitalism to communism. "Sixty years since Red October--that makes six decades during which socialism turned from an idea, a science, into a mighty reality. It gained a foothold, it fought its way through and it increasingly determines

the way things happen on earth" (appeal of the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR on the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution).

And how difficult was the beginning! How hard and full of sacrifice was the struggle which the Bolsheviks had to go through against the imperialist intervention forces and the White Guard mercenaries until socialism "gained a foothold" and until the first worker-and-peasant government of the world was able to open the first chapter of true humaneness in history. No imperialist politician at that time gave the Soviet government more than 4-6 weeks and it was Churchill who wanted to strangle bolshevism "in the cradle." History has simply swept over those "prophets"; socialism has become great, strong, and influential. Our younger generations, who are familiar with that period only from our history books, today, in the GDR as in the socialist brother countries, participate in refashioning the world with dash and daring. They are the revolutionaries of our time, firmly linked with the first country of socialism.

#### New Epoch also on Issue of War and Peace

With the victory of Red October and the growth of Soviet power, the fight for a lasting peace was given a strong material base. V. I. Lenin characterized the October Revolution as the "first victory on the road toward the abolition of wars" (V. I. Lenin, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, Berlin, 1962, Vol 33, p 36).

This historical magnitude of this first step toward the liberation of mankind from the scourge of war is today, 60 years later, more visible than ever before. Who is not moved, deep down, by those words, filled with historical confidence, which Lenin wrote on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of Red October: "We have begun this work. When, by what deadline, the proletarians of which nations will finish this work--that is immaterial. The essential thing is that the ice has been broken, that the trail has been cleared, that the way has been charted" (V. I. Lenin, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, Berlin, 1962, Vol 33, p 37).

The first official act of the victorious October Revolution was aimed at peace. The Decree on Peace, adopted by the Second All-Russian Soviet Congress on 8 November 1917, proclaimed a clear and concrete fighting program for a just, democratic, and general peace.

The next step quite logically was the extrication of Soviet Russia from World War I through the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The peace dictated by imperial Germany and its allies was harsh and rapacious. But the young Soviet government needed a breathing spell in order to save the revolution. Lenin had to push the signing of the peace treaty through over opposition from Trotsky, Bukharin, and other so-called left-wing communists who were in favor of breaking off negotiations and proclaiming the "revolutionary war." In a resolution, these "leftists" declared it expressly to be "practical to let the possibility come up that Soviet power, which is now becoming purely

formal, might be lost" (V. I. Lenin, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, 1960, Vol 27, p 53). This involved open treason against the revolution, it involved the abandonment of Soviet power. Trotkiy, who headed the Soviet delegation, in spite of clear directives for the negotiations, refused to sign the treaty and the imperialist troops continued the offensive toward Petrograd.

Trotkiy's treason almost would have meant the end of the revolution. Lenin resolutely turned against the ultrarevolutionary phrase and declared, "...one must absolutely fight against it so that it will not be necessary some day to tell the bitter truth: the revolutionary phrase about revolutionary war ruined the revolution" (V. I. Lenin, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, Berlin, 1960, Vol 27, p 12). The treaty was finally signed by G. V. Chicherin on 3 March 1918; a few days later it was approved by the Seventh Party Congress and it was then ratified by the Fourth All-Russian Soviet Congress. During those difficult days the issue literally was the life or death, the continuation of the first socialist revolution or its downfall. The revolution proved to be stronger. This is proved by the 60 years which have passed since Red October and its world-historical successes. And the Brest peace treaty was annulled a few months after it had been signed. The November revolution in Germany ended World War I in 1918 and also did away with all of the witchcraft of Brest-Litovsk.

G. V. Chicherin himself gave a clear Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the peace of Brest: "The Soviet government knowingly accepted the severe conditions contained in the Brest treaty; it did so, knowing full well that the revolution of workers and peasants would be stronger than imperialism, that a breathing spell meant a coming victory. The Soviet government agreed to the stiff conditions of the treaty but there is one thing it did not agree to by any means: Germany's interference in the internal affairs of Soviet Russia, any kind of changes in that system." The present-day supporters of interference in the internal affairs of socialist states and of a change in their social system might take a close look at the last few lines in Chicherin's remarks. They should also take a look at the history of the past six decades and the final act of Helsinki. That might make it easier for them to gain an insight into the requirements of peaceful coexistence and into strict compliance with all obligations undertaken. It could be particularly helpful for the preparation for the Belgrade meeting.

Socialist peace strategy determined the foreign policy of the young Soviet state from its birth onward. Socialist construction began on 1/6 of the globe under the most difficult conditions, through the merciless period of imperialist intervention and civil war.

#### Protagonists of Peaceful Coexistence and Disarmament

Socialism and peace were indivisible from their beginning. And so, in the international arena, which until then had been the exclusive domain of the capitalist countries, there appeared for the first time a power that advocated the interests of the peoples, that became and still is the protagonist of peace and security, international disarmament, and peaceful collaboration among states.

Initially, the most important thing for Soviet Russia was to achieve full equality with the capitalist states in international relations. It was necessary to fight for the recognition of the sovereignty and inviolability of the world's first social power. This breakthrough took place during the April-May 1922 Genoa conference, the first international economic conference of the European countries, in which the young Soviet state participated with equal rights. At Genoa, the Soviet delegation submitted specific proposals for the development of relations with the capitalist states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. And the Soviet state was the first in the world, in Genoa, to call for practical measures of international disarmament. The imperialist representatives refused even to discuss the Soviet proposals. Instead, they tried to blackmail the Soviet government through unacceptable economic demands and again to interfere in Soviet Russia's internal affairs. There was no mistaking the goal of bringing down the Soviet Union after all.

How can one speak of a breakthrough in spite of all that? First of all, because of the successful defense against all blackmail maneuvers, particularly by the entente countries. Second, above all because the Soviet delegation, exploiting the increasing contradictions between the capitalist states, managed, literally within a few hours, to negotiate and sign the Rapallo treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany. The treaty was useful to both sides. It meant the establishment of diplomatic relations, the cancellation of all mutual demands arising from World War I, and a good foundation for economic collaboration through the acceptance of most-favored nation treatment. The Rapallo treaty liberated the Soviet state and capitalist Germany from international isolation. It was an outstanding success of the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence, the first treaty which was signed on the basis of equal rights for both opposing social systems.

V. I. Lenin paid tribute to the work of the Soviet delegation at the Genoa conference: "The delegation of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee correctly carried out its assignment in that it defended the full sovereignty of the RSFSR, in that it fought against attempts at subjugation and restoration of private property, and concluded a treaty with Germany." "True equality of both ownership systems," Lenin emphasized, "can be found only in the Rapallo treaty." This is why one could recognize "only such a type of treaty as being normal for relations between the RSFSR and the capitalist states" (V. I. Lenin, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, Berlin, 1962, Vol 32, pp 342-343).

The Soviet Union during the twenties and thirties followed the policy of defending peace and consolidating international security with great persistence and consistency. Let us mention some of the milestones on this road.

In 1927, the Soviet Union submitted a program for general and complete disarmament to a commission which had been created by the League of Nations for the purpose of summoning a disarmament conference. Sneering rejection was the response.

The Soviet Union received solid support from the working class of the capitalist countries, especially the communists. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the revolutionary worker movement in Germany likewise supported the first victorious socialist revolution through mass actions, such as "hands off Soviet Russia." As a socialist state however the USSR was still alone in facing a front of hostile imperialist countries. World imperialism was stronger and still dominated international events. But the USSR, which acted in the interest of the peoples, did not let up for one moment in the struggle for a lasting peace.

#### For Collective Security, against the Fascist Peril

During the thirties, the Soviet Union made great efforts to counter the approaching danger of fascist aggression through collective measures. In December 1933, the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution on the development of the fight for collective security in Europe. In keeping with this resolution, the Soviet Union on 28 December 1933 submitted a proposal for signing a collective security pact among all interested states. The pact did not materialize because of the rejecting attitude of the Western powers. In 1935, the USSR signed assistance treaties with France and Czechoslovakia. Finally, the Soviet Union, on 17 April 1939, proposed the signing of a treaty on mutual aid against aggression to the governments of Great Britain and France. Only a system of collective security could have prevented World War II. But the Western powers, through their blind anti-Sovietism, continued on the road which had led them to Munich in 1938. That was done with the intention of guiding the aggression of fascist German imperialism toward the East. This was connected with the calculation that the first land of socialism and Hitler fascism could in this way mutually weaken each other or wipe each other out. Right after Hitler fascism attacked the Soviet Union, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the subsequent president Truman, declared: "If we see that Germany wins, then we should help Russia and if Russia wins, then we should help Germany; in this way they should kill off as many of each other as possible." Such speculations of course did not materialize. The social system of the USSR in the end proved to be stronger and insurmountable. In view of the resistance put up by the peoples attacked by fascism, Truman's possibilities were not enough to prevent the materialization of the anti-Hitler coalition.

#### Smashing Fascism--A Grand Historical Deed for Peace and Freedom

The Soviet Union made the greatest sacrifices and won the decisive victories in the complete defeat of the fascist armies. Smashing fascism was the greatest and most glorious deed of the Soviet people for peace and freedom of the peoples. The German people likewise thus was given a historical opportunity for a fundamental change in its history.

The complete victory over Hitler fascism, the signing of the Potsdam agreement, and the creation of the UN created new foundations for the fight of the peoples for lasting, secure peace. And there is one thing we must not forget: the leading statesmen of the United States and Great Britain had

repeatedly--at the conferences of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, and in their correspondence with I. V. Stalin--given assurance that they would continue and expand collaboration with the Soviet Union for the sake of a safe and lasting peace. Immediately after the Yalta conference, which was attended by the heads of government of the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain, Roosevelt on 13 February 1945, that is, 2 months before his death, sent a personal letter to I. V. Stalin. In this letter Roosevelt declared the following, among other things: "The peoples of the world, I am convinced, will not only approve the results of this agreement but will consider them as a real guarantee for the fact that our three great nations can in peacetime work together just as they did in wartime." It was the USSR which adhered to this historically necessary line of cooperation in the interest of world peace while the Western powers after World War II pursued an opposite course.

### III. Throughout the Cold War--Socialism Saved World Peace

#### 1. Change in International Situation.

The smashing of fascism created a new international situation in two respects.

First of all, the liberation of the peoples from Hitler fascism led to a powerful upswing of the fight for social and national liberation. The international revolutionary process took on new dimensions. People's democratic revolutions in Europe and Asia led to the rise of the international socialist system, the greatest achievements of the international revolutionary worker movement. As the first socialist country, the Soviet Union now no longer stood alone against the phalanx of imperialist states. Fundamental prerequisites had arisen for a new balance of power in the world.

Second, the victory of the antifascist-democratic liberation struggle of the peoples also created new conditions in the struggle for a lasting peace. A series of democratic principles--for whose international recognition the Soviet Union had fought from the very beginning--in the Potsdam initial agreement and in the UN Charter for the first time was given the force and validity of international law. Strict compliance with those principles by all countries would even then have helped achieve a breakthrough for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

It was not the fault of the Soviet Union and its allies that a historical delay of three decades occurred until the European treaties and finally the act of Helsinki came about.

#### Two Worlds--Two Lines of International Policy

The USSR and, with it, the other states of the socialist world, strictly followed the road of peaceful collaboration with the capitalist countries. They adhered to the principles and agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam and the UN Charter. They fought for the extirpation of Nazism, for a democratic development in all Germany, and for a stable system of lasting peace in Europe.

The imperialist powers radically departed from the way of collaboration with the Soviet Union which had proved itself in the fight of the anti-Hitler coalition. Forgotten were the words of the Teheran declaration which bore the signatures of Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt: "And, as far as peace is concerned, we are sure that our harmony among ourselves will make it a lasting peace."

But anti-Sovietism gained the upper hand among the leaders of the imperialist world. The old strategic goal of liquidating socialism and wiping the first government of workers and peasants, the Soviet Union, from the map, again determined the content and the methods of imperialist policy.

[Signed to press 25 Apr 77, p 4]

## [Text] 2. Imperialism Triggered Cold War--World Peace in Dire Danger

### Churchill Sounded the Keynote

Not a full year had passed since the end of World War II when Churchill, in his notorious speech in Fulton, United States, in March 1946 in point of fact already sounded the call for a Third World War. Churchill invented the "Iron Curtain" and urged a crusade against the countries of socialism. The Cold War had thus been started. In March 1947, the American imperialists proclaimed the "Truman Doctrine" with which the United States arrogated unto itself the function of the world's political and military policeman.

### USSR Counters with Struggle for Peace

There now followed harsh years of international class conflict. The imperialists escalated the Cold War. They switched to the "policy of strength" and threatened to use the atomic bomb. More than once, mankind stood on the brink of a new world war.

It is to the credit of the USSR that it resolutely resisted all imperialist threats, that it consolidated its own power, that it countered the danger of war with countless peace offensives and thus saved world peace. Certainly, it did have good allies in this effort, including the GDR--but it was the USSR which had to bear the brunt during those hard years. During the 60th year since Red October, it deserves the gratitude of all peace-loving peoples also for this chapter in the toughest fight to ward off war.

In 1946 already, during the year when the Cold War started, the USSR submitted to the UN a proposal for general arms limitations and a ban on and destruction of atomic weapons. To the fifth United Nations General Assembly in 1950, the Soviet Union proposed the adoption of a "declaration on the elimination of a new danger of war and the consolidation of peace and security of the peoples." Once again it demanded a ban on the production and use of atomic weapons.

The United States at that time dominated the majority of the United Nations General Assembly--the nationally liberated states today at that time were still colonies and did not belong to the United Nations--and so the Soviet peace proposals were simply discarded at that time. But the USSR and its allies persistently continued the struggle until the change was finally forced later on.

#### NATO Aggression Pact against Socialist World

Upon the instigation of the United States and under its leadership, the NATO pact was signed in April 1949; on the basis of the anti-Soviet slogan of fending off an alleged "Bolshevik threat," this pact was from the very beginning designed as an aggressive, military and political instrument in the struggle against the USSR and the other countries of international socialism and it began to work in that direction. In his capacity as NATO Supreme Commander, Eisenhower expressly praised Churchill who was the first to say (meaning here the Fulton speech--the author) that "one could negotiate" with the Soviet Union "only on a basis of strength." He also thanked the American George Kennan for inventing the thesis of "containment" (that is to say, the "damming up" of socialism) which, according to Eisenhower, "in 1947 laid the foundation for the Truman Doctrine and later the Atlantic Pact." But Eisenhower in the beginning was dissatisfied with the Allies because their readiness to plunge into an arms race and into military adventures left very much to be desired due to the pressure of their peoples. The aggression which the United States started in Korea in 1950 was supposed to get the NATO allies to come running. That was the real purpose of this aggression. In his report of April 1952, Eisenhower admitted: "It first of all took the 'crisis of awakening' resulting from the Korean conflict (June 1950) to get the West to speed up on the way from planning to practical implementation." In the same breath Eisenhower expressly subscribed to the "intensification of the Cold War."

The aggression in Korea thus stood at the cradle of NATO. As we can see, cold and hot war merged in the imperialist global strategy against socialism. The peace endeavors of the USSR and the other socialist states were shoved aside during that time because, as Eisenhower put it, "the Western powers are so strong that they need not fear an open investigation of the Soviet proposals." How thoroughly has this imperialist overbearing in the meantime been pushed aside by virtue of the change in conditions!

#### FRG Established as Spearhead Against Socialism

The Potsdam agreement had hardly been signed when the Western powers began to violate it crudely. Instead of carrying out the stipulated democratic changes, they worked toward the restoration of the beaten forces of German imperialism and militarism in the Western occupation zones. One of the leading CDU politicians at time, Dr. Erich Koehler admitted back in the autumn of 1946: "We reject German unity if the socialist forces as a result could govern all of Germany. We would rather have half a Germany than all of Germany."

With the help of the Western powers, the forces which were working toward a separate Western state and its rearmament, in order to achieve a revision of the results of World War II, finally gained the upper hand. Halfway along the way, when the Western powers in 1947 let the London Conference with the Soviet Union breakup, the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE wrote triumphantly: "We have arrived at the end of the road; the age of Yalta is over. The division of Germany will give us a free hand in inserting West Germany into a system of Western states." The FRG was born through the establishment of the bizonal, the split in the currency, the establishment of a "parliamentary council" by the Western powers, the drafting of a constitution which was made effective in May 1949, and the gathering of the first session of the Lower House in September 1949. Anti-Sovietism, anticomunism, and revanchism were its sponsors--in combination with domestic and foreign military leaders who had visions of a heavily-armed spearhead against socialism. Quite in this sense, Senator Elmer Thomas said a few weeks after the founding of the FRG: "The Germans are great fighters. If the United States should again be at war, we will need fighters. In that war, we want to have Germany on our side."

The great days of the beaten Hitler generals now began. The CDU/CSU administration under Adenauer worked toward the integration of the FRG into NATO and a powerful rearmament effort. The FRG fit perfectly into the NATO landscape and its arms escalation. All warnings sounded against this dangerous course by the USSR and GDR as well as their countless proposals for peaceful understanding were simply disregarded. At last the time had come. The Paris Treaties, signed in October 1954 and made effective in May 1955, gave the rulers of the FRG membership in NATO and also gave them the green light for accelerated rearmament. Along with the Paris Treaties, the so-called General Treaty between Bonn and the Western powers, which had been ratified already in 1953, also became effective. This treaty made it clear that the main thrust of imperialist strategy in Europe was directed against the GDR. Article 7 of the so-called General Treaty proclaimed as goal "a reunited Germany which would have a free-democratic constitution, similar to that of the Federal Republic, and which would be integrated into the European Community." There was hardly any clearer way to formulate the unipious way of liquidating the socialist GDR and dragging it into the Western pact system. In his previously mentioned April 1952 NATO report Eisenhower had already demanded "a reunited Germany within the European Community" and added: "Another end to the Cold War is not in sight."

Leading politicians in the FRG expressed the main thrust against the GDR even more clearly than could be done in treaty articles. In March 1952, the subsequent foreign minister Brentano trumpeted: "We will do everything possible, and I mean: everything possible, to get the Soviet occupation zone back." Adenauer himself expressly demanded the "liberation of the zone." By way of a legal cover for aggressive plans against the GDR, the FRG postulated its sole-representation claim which can still be found kicking around in the heads of many FRG politicians--regardless of the basic treaty between the GDR and the FRG and regardless of the final act of Helsinki.

The appetite of the revanchists was bigger. They were not satisfied with the GDR. From the very beginning, they tried to restore the German Reich, which had gone down, "within the 1937 borders"--the old Germany which, de jure, was already being represented by the FRG. This, at any rate, was the way the West German rulers put it at the cradle of the FRG. This revanchist ambition--which, in addition to the GDR threatens other European countries--still permeates the entire legislation of the FRG today--two years after the solemn signing of the final act of Helsinki! CDU minister Seebohm was particularly juicy in his remarks in 1953 when he declared that the German problem would not be solved with a return of Middle Germany. "The German east," said Seebohm, "includes not only the Elbe and Oder but also Bohemia and all territories in which Germans were settled once upon a time."

The revanchist of the FRG, based on a heavily-armed army and membership in NATO, caused the danger of war in Europe to continue to grow. This was especially so since West Berlin, as a "frontline city" and the "cheapest atomic bomb"--had assumed a particularly aggressive role against the GDR and the other socialist countries. In the chorus of revanchists and anti-communists, Franz Josef Strauss would not let anybody drown him out. Before the Bonn Lower House, he burst forth in true fascist manner. Regarding the military planning FRG, he proclaimed most officially, there was only one operation and that was "Operation Red."

### 3. Saving Peace Was Highest Commandment

The serious aggravation of the situation during the fifties and into the following decade, which had been brought about by the aggressive forces of imperialism, demanded an utmost effort to avert the disaster of a new war. The consistent and reasonable peace policy of the USSR managed, with the support of the other socialist states as well as all progressive and democratic forces throughout the world, to prevent the worst from happening and to restrain imperialism. The GDR was very active in participating in this struggle. "Our party for a very long time--and with full justification, to the upmost limits--adhered to its goal of achieving a democratic and progressive development in all of Germany" (Hermann Axen, "Zur Entwicklung der sozialistischen Nation in der DDR," Dietz Publishers, Berlin, 1963, p 9).

#### Warning Issued against Consequences of Paris Treaties

At the end of November and the beginning of December 1954, that is to say, half a year prior to the ratification of the Paris Treaties, with which the integration of the FRG into NATO was accomplished, the conference of European countries for the guarantee of peace and security in Europe met in Moscow. Europe's capitalist countries, upon the instigation of the Western powers, had refused to participate in order not to interfere with the dangerous course of the Paris Treaties. The declaration of the Moscow conference, adopted on 2 December 1954, most seriously warns against the Paris Treaties: "The agreement creates a military bloc of the aggressive circles of the United States, Great Britain, and France with German militarism. This aggressive bloc cannot serve the interests of peace and security in Europe. Its formation brings the entire situation in Europe to a head and greatly increases the danger of a new world war."

The supporters of the liquidation of the GDR and its subjugation to the rule of FRG monopoly capital, who have by far not died out as yet in the FRG, might also be reminded of this warning: "After West Germany has been re-militarized and turned into a militaristic state, the unification of that part of Germany with the eastern part of Germany, the peace-loving German Democratic Republic, will become impossible" (V. M. Molotov, addressing the Supreme Soviet USSR on 8 February 1955, see "Von der Moskauer Konferenz europaeischer Laender bis zum Warschauer Vertag," Kongress Publishers, Berlin, 1955, p 38). The GDR likewise addressed countless serious warnings to the FRG, always combined with specific proposals for peaceful negotiations so that the dangerous course pursued by the West might yet be stopped. Ridicule and mockery and icy rejection were the response.

Those who in the FRG today still babble about a unification of the capitalist FRG with the socialist GDR and for this purpose dream about the historical plunder of the Paris Treaties and the "General Treaty" from the fifties and those who preach "keeping open" the so-called German question--those people are lying deliberately or are still speculating on war. The historical realities have long swept over the brainstorms of such people.

[Signed to press 2 May 77, pp 8-9]

[Text] This is another installment in the study on socialist foreign policy begun in No 16, 1977, from Lenin's Decree on Peace to the present struggle of the community of socialist states toward the in-depth development of the detente process and the complete implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The Cold War, which was unleashed by the imperialist powers, during the fifties more than once brought the world to the brink of a war catastrophe. The USSR, together with its allies, made great efforts to preserve peace.

#### Way Out: Collective Security in Europe--Turned Down by Western Powers

In February 1954, the Soviet Union, at the Berlin Four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference proposed an "All-European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe" with the participation of all European states--including the GDR and the FRG. The USSR submitted a proposal to the conference of foreign ministers containing the main principles of such a treaty. The basic idea behind the conference of European states--which finally did materialize about 20 years later in Helsinki--had been born here. The specific treaty draft, proposed one year later by the USSR at the 1955 Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers, stated the following in Article 1: "The contracting parties pledge not to use force of arms against each other and to refrain from threatening force in mutual relations. They will resolve all disputed issues, which might arise between them, by peaceful means." Such elementary basic principles of peaceful coexistence, as the renunciation of threat or use of force, as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes, of course were included in the final act of Helsinki in 1975. They are firmly anchored in the ten principles of relations between the participating states as obligatory behavior norm. But 20 years earlier, the western powers, during the height of the Cold War instigated by them, were not ready to undertake any peace-securing measures or agreements and turned down all USSR proposals.

In line with the Paris Treaties, they stuck to the course of liquidating the GDR and integrating all Germany into the Western pact system. The policy of the Western powers against socialism was furthermore dominated by the "rollback" and "balancing on the brink of war"--as Secretary of State Dulles himself expressed it later.

#### Warsaw Pact Created for Defense

The aggressive NATO Bloc had already been in existence 6 years when Europe's socialist states, in view of the extremely serious situation--following the entry into force of the Paris Treaties and the inclusion of the FRG into NATO--signed the Warsaw Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance Treaty on 14 May 1955 to consolidate peace in Europe and to rally their forces. Europe's socialist defense organization has proved itself a hundred times over since then. It not only stopped imperialist adventurers and supporters of a "rollback" of socialism and thus saved peace. It also became the protagonist of a lasting peace in Europe, the initiator of countless activities beamed at bringing about a plan toward the better and at achieving a breakthrough for the principles of peaceful coexistence. The success with which that was accomplished can be seen in the final act of Helsinki.

In Western countries, especially in the FRG, the professional adulterers of history describe the events of the postwar years as if the West always somehow had to respond to "threatening" measures taken by socialist countries regarding the split of Germany and on military and other issues. The exact opposite is true. The facts are irrefutable. The German economic commission was constituted in March 1948 as a body for the central direction and management of the economy in the Soviet occupation zone only after the establishment of the Frankfurt economic council in the Bi-Zone, on which the American and British military governments had issued identical decrees already on 29 May 1947. Only after the separate currency reform had been carried out in the three Western zones on 20 June 1948 did the currency conversion take place in the Eastern part of Germany on 24 June 1948. Only after Germany was split as a result of the formation of a state in West Germany in September 1949, was the GDR founded on 7 October 1949. Only after the FRG on 5 May 1955, with the entry into force of the Paris Treaties, had been included in NATO, did the GDR become a member of the Warsaw Pact on 14 May 1955. Only after on 7 June 1955 the formation of the Federal Defense Ministry had been decided in the FRG and after the buildup of the West German armed forces had been started, was a resolution adopted on 18 January 1956 on the formation of the Ministry of National Defense and the creation of the National People's Army of the GDR.

A few months after the founding of the Warsaw Pact organization, at the November 1955 Geneva foreign ministers' conference, the Soviet Union proposed the signing of a treaty between the two groupings of states, that is, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This proposal once again contained the basic idea of the renunciation of the use or threat of force as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes--a renewed anticipation of Helsinki. The imperialist

powers however had not yet gotten that far in their thinking processes. That would come later. They still turned down all peace proposals. That included their "no" to the Soviet declaration draft "On the Restriction of Armament, the Ban on Atomic Weapons, and the Elimination of the Danger of a New War," submitted in the UN in 1955. This draft by the way also contained the proposal that a "World Conference on General Armament Restrictions and on Banning the Atomic Weapon" was to be summoned in 1956. Today, 20 years later, the proposal for summoning a "world disarmament conference" once again is on the agenda of international politics. What a continuity and persistence of socialist peace strategy over decades! There are countless examples by means of which one can prove that the USSR and the socialist countries allied with it took the initiative, in the UN system and elsewhere, on the international scene, initiative after initiative, in order to guarantee a lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world. And the fruits of this endeavor matured amid the tough international class struggle.

#### 4. New Balance of Power Visible

The change in the international balance of power in favor of socialism, which has been taking place for many years, became increasingly visible at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties. Imperialism had lost its commanding world position. The atomic monopoly of the United States had been broken a long time ago and had been blunted as an instrument of imperialist blackmail. When V. M. Molotov declared already in February 1955 "that the Soviet Union is not weaker than the United States of America," the only response from the imperialist world was a tired smile. But 2½ years later, on 4 October 1957, it was not in the United States but rather in the USSR that the first artificial earth satellite was launched with a powerful booster rocket. The "Sputnik shock" in the United States clearly indicated the change which had taken place in the world situation. The bigwigs in the White House and in the Pentagon were scared out of their wits.

#### Time of Gun Boat Diplomacy Over

Elsewhere in the world the situation was not the best for imperialism either. Right in America's front yard, the Cuban revolution was victorious and could no longer be stopped. As could be seen first of all in the Congo, the victorious campaign of national liberation movements and the collapse of imperialist colonial empires began in Africa. Imperialist politicians and their mass media could not conceal their boundless fury and the powerlessness. The Springer press insulted and slandered the African freedom fighters. To the outstanding leader of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro, it referred contemptuously as a "crazy sugar revolutionary who can go unpunished as he slaps a world power." And what powerless fury sprang from the deep sigh of DIE WELT: "One gun boat would have straightened the situation out in the old days." Yes, the time of imperialism's gun boat diplomacy was over--also in its more modern form of the "atomic stick."

The whole series of imperialist doctrine--such as the "Truman Doctrine," the doctrine of "containment" and the "rollback" or the "policy of strength" --was unable to prevent the historical changes to the detriment of international imperialism. In Europe, imperialism's aggressive forces were likewise stopped by the measures taken for the protection of the GDR international boundary on 13 August 1961. They were clearly shown the profound contradiction between the aggressive plans and the impossibility of carrying them out. West Berlin was unable fully to play its role as "thorn in the side of the GDR" and as the "cheapest atomic bomb." Too much damage had already been inflicted on the GDR.

With difficulty and painfully the mighty of the imperialist world dropped their "doctrines" and other habits they had become fond of. Imperialism of course did not drop its aggressive essence. It logically also stuck to the strategic orientation of liquidating socialism. On the search for new methods, they tried to strangle socialism economically, to soften it up to ideological subversion, and to roll it up militarily no longer frontally but from the flanks. A new doctrine, the doctrine of "limited war" had quickly been prepared in the Pentagon. It was the foundation for the subsequent aggression against Vietnam which was begun by the United States with utmost military might and brutality and which ended with the complete flop of the aggressors.

But the altered world situation had already promoted the development of new, more favorable conditions for the struggle for a lasting, secure peace in Europe during the first half of the sixties. The start of the period of time, during which imperialism was gradually forced to adjust to the altered world situation and to enter into negotiations, now began to emerge. The states of the socialist community began their great peace offensive which finally led to Helsinki.

#### IV. Road to Helsinki--Ten Years of Successful Struggle for Peace and Security

##### 1. Historical Initiative

The first signal was given by the conference of the political advisory committee of the Warsaw Pact states in January 1965 in Warsaw with the suggestion of "summoning a conference of European states in order to discuss measures guaranteeing collective security in Europe."

The states of the socialist community firmly retained the initiative. In July 1966, the Bucharest Conference of the Warsaw Pact in its declaration expressly called for a "turn toward the reduction of tensions in Europe" and urged all European states to develop good neighborly relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The idea behind the conference was concretely shaped up by an entire action program. In the nucleus of this program, the "untouchability of the boundaries," including the Polish border along the Oder and Neisse and the boundary between the two German states, was characterized as a "foundation for a lasting peace in Europe."

"Highest-level contacts" were urged. And finally: "the summoning of a conference on questions of European security and collaboration could promote the creation of a system of collective security in Europe and would be an important milestone in Europe's contemporary history." The final act of Helsinki nine years later became this milestone in European history.

## 2. Essence and Goals of Socialist Peace Offensive

To be sure, the altered balance of power had created more favorable starting positions for a successful striving for peace and security. But what about the international situation? In the middle of the sixties it was anything but rosy. The United States was escalating its aggression against Vietnam with maximum barbarism. Countless human lives were sacrificed, numerous cities and villages were destroyed, forests were defoliated, rice crops were wiped out--all these came to be credited against the guilt account of the American aggressors. And the Near East! With American support, Israel in 1967 attacked the Arab states and occupied considerable portions of their territories. And was there any "calm" in Europe? Here, the main threat to peace sprang from the FRG. Revanchism was in high gear and tried to gain authority over nuclear weapons. In short, the danger of war had hardly been reduced and certainly not eliminated. The struggle for peace had to be conducted all the more energetically therefore.

### Global Peace Strategy

The international situation demanded corresponding defense capability on the part of the allied socialist states as well as serious efforts in support of peace. A worldwide socialist peace strategy called for the following:

First of all, to extinguish local foci of war and to render maximum political, material and moral aid to the victims of imperialist aggression in their struggle;

Second, to hinder imperialist reaction in its effort to unleash new wars by all means and to implement a peaceful, political solution of international conflict;

Third, to conduct a determined political-diplomatic struggle for international detente, for a reduction of the arms race, and for the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

All of this was done with consistency and maximum persistence. The efforts of the socialist states were combined with the growing force of the international solidarity and peace movement.

### Why Was Europe so Important?

The United States imperialists and their allies raged in Vietnam with hundreds of thousands of soldiers and the most modern equipment--and still they were unable to prevent their subsequent shameful defeat. For the United States,

this was a "limited" war, in spite of a maximum effort, in order to "roll up" socialism from the flanks. But that did not work either!

While bombs were falling on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were not spared aggression, the United States strategists at no time left any doubt that they still considered Europe to be the main field of the dispute between imperialism and international socialism. Indeed, Europe was the critical point in the danger of a new world war. Here runs the line of confrontation between the mightiest military groupings--NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Here rages the Cold War. A military conflict here would mean thermonuclear world war! And let us not forget: the ruling circles in the FRG had not abandoned their course which was aimed at the liquidation of the FRG, at the correction of the results of World War II, and the restoration of the 1937 boundaries. Those objectives had been elevated to the status of official government doctrines.

Solidarity for Vietnam and peace offensive in Europe consequently could not be separated from each other. World imperialism had to be restrained in both sectors. "The struggle of the Asian peoples is therefore closely tied in with the struggle of the European peoples for their security," noted the World Peace Council at its June 1966 Geneva Conference.

#### What Has to and Could be Achieved in Europe?

The situation in Europe and the revanchist course of the FRG necessarily pointed up the main question whose solution became unavoidable in the interest of European security:

First of all, the recognition of the untouchability of boundaries existing in Europe, especially the Oder-Neisse boundary and the border between the GDR and the FRG, by the Bonn government.

In his tract "Where Is the Federal Republic Drifting?" West German philosopher Karl Jaspers noted: "This nonrecognition of boundaries is in itself a threat to peace. If I demand a change in boundaries," said Jaspers, "which will not take place de facto and which cannot be expected under any circumstances, then this means that it is a threat of war by nature."

Second, the recognition of the GDR, under international law, as a sovereign state and the renunciation of the FRG government of its sole-representation claim; in April 1967 CDU minister Gradi had declared that the recognition of a second German state would make it more difficult for the Federal Republic to intervene in the internal affairs of the GDR, "to be effective" into the GDR.

Third, denying the FRG access to nuclear weapons in any form whatsoever. In this connection, a hard struggle was conducted at the end of the sixties to have the FRG join the nuclear nonproliferation treaty.

Fourth, the peaceful solution of the problem of the special political unit of West Berlin--on the basis of the fact that West Berlin is not a part of the FRG; West Berlin must no longer be a powder keg in the heart of Europe.

Fifth, the recognition of the invalidity of the Munich Dictate from the very beginning because the Bonn thesis at the time--to the effect that the Munich Dictate was completely valid under international law--justified fascist aggression and thus constituted a new potential danger of war.

These demands, which were expressed at that time in numerous documents and activities, were elementary prerequisites for European security. They could be implemented only through a hard struggle. But the tasks had been set up --and it was entirely realistic, as we can confirm in retrospect.

### 3. Forward, Step by Step--Socialist States with New Initiatives

It took further major efforts to bring about the conference of European states. The NATO states were still saying no. They were simply taking too long to think things over--they had already taken three years. The Warsaw Pact states took further initiatives. It is impossible to list all of them. The year 1969 became a special high point. The 17 March 1969 Budapest "Appeal of the Warsaw Pact States to All European Countries" supplemented the basic idea of the all-European conference of states with specific proposals and had a mobilizing effect in Europe.

In October 1969, the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries at their Prague conference submitted a proposal for the agenda of the conference of European states--a good foundation for further bilateral and multilateral discussions. The socialist states welcomed the significant initiative of Finland's government of 5 May 1969 and arrived at the view that the conference "could take place in Helsinki during the first half of 1970."

The meeting of leading personalities of the socialist brother countries on 3 and 4 December 1969 in Moscow confirmed the socialist peace course and decidedly came out in favor of "making peaceful coexistence the generally valid norm of mutual relations between European states having different social systems." Just one day after that meeting, on 5 December 1969, the NATO Council for the first time reacted positively to the idea of the European security conference. The efforts of the socialist community had not been in vain but the road was to be a long one.

#### Communist World Movement Promotes Peace Struggle

The hope of world imperialism--that the unity of the three revolutionary main streams might break up as a result of the weakening and splitting of the communist movement--did not materialize. On the contrary. The influence of the communist and worker parties grew and their unity became stronger. The revolutionary worker movement had gained much experience in the anti-imperialist struggle and had become a strong bastion in the fight for peace and security.

The Conference of Communist and Worker Parties of Europe in April 1967 in Karlovy Vary [Karlsbad] adopted an action program for the creation of a system of collective security and unanimously supported the proposal for summoning a conference of European states.

Communists throughout the world consolidated their ranks through the international conference of the communist and worker parties in Moscow in June 1969. All of the big attempts at division had failed. The communist world movement was consolidated and became stronger. Its action unit became a strong force in the anti-imperialist struggle and in the fight for peace. The Moscow world conference supported the basic requirements of European security, including the untouchability of boundaries and the recognition of the GDR under international law and likewise demanded the summoning of an all-European conference.

#### Forces Growth through Peace and Solidarity Movement

In the struggle for the discontinuation and prevention of international conflicts, for peace and security of peoples, the social forces emerged with increasing effectiveness and all over the world. The mass movement of solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese peoples unfolded to the very last corners of the capitalist world and did not stop until peace had been forced. The idea had become a material force in the sense of Karl Marx because it had taken hold of the masses. Effective activities and fighting programs sprang from the world peace movement also with regard to European security. The world peace council came out with numerous initiatives. And such world forums of peace forces--such as those in Helsinki in 1965, in Berlin in 1969, in Stockholm in 1970, in Paris in 1972, and in Moscow in 1973--exerted tremendous attraction.

#### 4. Imperialism Forced to Adjust to new International Situation

A painful process of rethinking began in the international monopoly bourgeoisie. One imperialist doctrine after the other had foundered. In view of the altered world situation in favor of socialism, the continuation of the old ways could only lead to imperialism's own downfall. The lessons had to be learned from that.

#### Common Sense Gained Ground

The compulsion toward adjustment to the new international situation became more and more obvious and urgent in the imperialist countries since the middle of the sixties. That portion of the big bourgeoisie gradually gained influence which--either out of its own class interest, for economic reasons, for self-preservation for other motives--found itself forced to go along with the policy of peaceful coexistence. That was done hesitantly and reluctantly, to be sure, but the compulsion in the end was stronger. Parliamentary elections in some capitalist countries helped the situation along. The masses demanded a fundamental change in policy. The outcome of the autumn 1969 Lower House elections in the FRG ended 20 years of unrestricted

rule of the CDU/CSU. A new chapter in international politics--and also in relations with GDR--could be opened. But that was done very slowly and reluctantly. The relics of the past still lingered on for a long time. They still have not been completely removed today.

## Two Contending Tendencies

Two main tendencies of foreign policy developed in the imperialist world and they partly became involved in a vehement struggle against each other while they partly also merged. Both of these tendencies are still at work today.

The first tendency is the tendency of adaptation to the new world situation, the altered balance of power. The driving force is not pure love of peace but the representatives of that direction want to preserve imperialism from perishing in the hell of a nuclear war. They therefore find themselves forced to take certain steps toward peaceful coexistence. That does not prevent them from trying to extricate imperialism from its historical defense and once again reversing the international balance of power in its favor.

The second tendency is the tendency of open reaction, aggression, of neo-colonialism and neofascism. Where the supporters of that direction see no other possibility of stopping social progress, they resort even to murder. That was pointed out by events in Chile, by the recent assassination of Major N'Gouabi, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, and the progressive Lebanese politician Kamal Jumblatt. The words of a man such as Franz Josef Strauss from 1956 still were balm for their souls: "We live in the age of technology where the united force of our allies is enough to wipe the empire of the Soviet Union from the map." Out of powerlessness over the hopelessness of that way, the archreactionary elements of the monopoly bourgeoisie switched to a second gear against socialism: stirring up counterrevolution. In this sense, they massively opposed international detente from the beginning. The Springer newspaper DIE WELT declared on 6 January 1970 that the only way to end the "confrontation between the West and East blocs which is in sight now" is "the transformation of the Eastern social system into a state which would make it blendable with the Western system." In other words: the only way to end the Cold War is to liquidate socialism! "All efforts at loosening things up in Eastern Europe" in the opinion of DIE WELT therefore would have to be "accompanied by ever greater political-military vigilance in the West." This language of the professional Cold Warriors is still the same today, seven years later.

The opponents of detente have always exerted massive pressure upon the more realistically thinking politicians so that both tendencies often merge and frequently are reflected in the contradictory attitude of one and the same responsible politician--such as we can still find this in the FRG today.

But the compulsion toward adaptation to the new international situation, the need for a more realistic policy, particularly toward the socialist countries, finally gained the upper hand in the West so that a change for the better could come about.

[Signed to press 9 May 77, pp 5-6]

#### [Text] 5. Turn toward International Detente

Europe's history since World War II at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies went through one of its most important phases. Numerous bilateral and multilateral negotiations were started and treaties, which made peace more secure, were signed. The resultant turn away from the Cold War toward international detente had to be wrested from imperialism in decades of hard struggle. The joint action of the community of socialist states--based on the joint peace strategy and on collaboration with all peace forces--led to great successes.

#### GDR-FRG Negotiation Phase Initiated

The two meetings between Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Willy Brandt, the FRG Federal Chancellor, in Erfurt and Kassel came about in March and May 1970 upon the initiative of the GDR. The initial impetus for that was provided by the treaty draft which was passed on to the FRG and which provided among other things for the recognition of the boundaries and the establishment of normal relations under international law between the GDR and the FRG. But Willy Brandt was not ready for that in Erfurt and Kassel. He was talking exclusively in terms of an "inner German" vocabulary, established conditions in terms of interference in the affairs of the GDR, and rejected the recognition of the GDR under international law. But the first step toward the phase of negotiations had been taken any way.

#### CPSU Peace Program Speeded Up Detente Process

The long road to Helsinki during the first half of the seventies and the detente process, which had been set in motion, were increasingly influenced and speeded up by the great peace program adopted by the 24th Congress of the CPSU which submitted specific proposals for the extinction of existing foci of war, which oriented everyone toward European security, toward international measures to avert the danger of an atomic war, and the transition to real disarmament. This program was given full support by the Eighth SED Congress and the party congresses of the brother parties in other socialist states--it became the common program of the community of socialist states for the continuation of the struggle for peace and security.

## Breakthrough Successful

The negotiation phase, which had been initiated in Europe, was successful. Detente gradually developed into the main tendency of international relations and beyond Europe--in spite of a few setbacks--it brought about a general improvement of the international climate. Significant milestones characterized this road.

First of all we got the European treaties which created a good foundation for the all-European agreements at Helsinki. That includes the following: the 12 August 1970 Moscow Treaty between the USSR and the FRG; the Warsaw Treaty between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG on 7 December 1970; the Berlin Treaty on the foundations of relations between the GDR and the FRG of 21 December 1972; as well as the treaty on mutual relations between the CSSR [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic] and the FRG of 11 December 1973, which meant that the 1938 Munich Dictate had wound up on the refuse dump of history.

All of these treaties share one thing in common: the recognition of the boundaries which developed in Europe, respect for the territorial integrity of all states of Europe, as well as renunciation of threat or use of force in mutual relations. In recognizing the borders, the FRG at the same time undertook the express obligation of not advancing any territorial claims against anybody in the future. The revanchist ideas of a "restoration of Germany within the 1937 boundaries" which are still proliferating in the FRG or "only" the incorporation of the GDR thus most coarsely violate clear obligations under international law.

The 3 September 1971 Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin organically fits into the European treaties; it defused a dangerous focus of tensions in the heart of Europe.

The European treaties in fact terminated the post war period. Significant steps had been taken toward detente and security in Europe and toward the establishment of relations of friendly coexistence between states having different social systems.

Second, the diplomatic blockade, erected by the imperialists against the GDR, finally collapsed in the course of this development. In September 1973, the GDR was admitted, without any restrictions, as the 133rd member of the world organization of the United Nations, with full rights. It became a member of numerous international organizations. In spite of stereotyped Bonn arguments about "waiting-and-seeing" and threats, many capitalist states long ago had normalized their relations with the GDR. Today, the GDR maintains diplomatic relations with 122 countries throughout the world; it had

started, after its founding in 1949, with 13, that is, only with socialist states! In the international arena, the GDR has prevailed fully with the support of the socialist brother states and many other friendly countries--a significant success of socialist peace strategy. The Hallstein and Scheel doctrines had failed.

Third, the treaties and agreements, which were signed between the USSR and the United States in 1972-1974 and which are aimed at reducing the danger of war, became an important factor in the progress of the detente process. The most important agreements include the following:

The document on the foundations of mutual relations (May 1972);

The treaty on restrictions on missile defense systems (May 1972);

The temporary agreement on some measures in the field of strategic offensive arms limitations (May 1972);

The agreement on the prevention of a nuclear war (June 1973) and

The treaty on the restriction of underground nuclear weapons tests (July 1974).

Regarding the temporary agreement on strategic offensive weapons limitations, which expires in October 1977, L. I. Brezhnev and the then President Ford during their November 1974 Vladivostok meeting agreed to replace it with a long-term agreement.

One extremely positive effect on the international situation sprang from the 1973 Paris agreement which sealed the forced withdrawal of the United States aggressors from Vietnam.

Although the two opposing tendencies continued to be at work in the imperialist world, detente nevertheless did become the predominant tendency of international politics because there was and is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence.

The road to Helsinki was clear.

#### 6. Helsinki--Forum of States for Peace

A positive chapter in European history was written in Helsinki. For the USSR and its allies, the conference became a high point of decades of struggle for peace and security. Naturally, the last leg of the road to Helsinki was not an easy one--after all, a balanced adjustment of interests had to be worked out between 35 participating countries through the consensus method, an adjustment which emerged in the form of a joint document of peace and collaboration. It took more than two years of hard preliminary work during two conference phases until the leading statesmen of 33 European countries as well as the United States and Canada were able to sign the final act during the third and conclusive stage in Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

Opponents of detente had done everything they could in an effort to block the conference and, if possible, to prevent it entirely. At the very last moment, the CDU/CSU opposition in the Bonn Lower House had categorically demanded of the FRG government that it refuse to sign the final act. That of course would have led to the complete isolation of the FRG. The enemies of detente failed and reason was victorious.

#### What Was Achieved in Helsinki?

The historical significance of the Helsinki conference and its final act has with full justification been received with extraordinary appreciation--also beyond Europe's borders. Let us recall some of the aspects of the final act here.

First of all, through the final act it became possible to seal the settlement of postwar problems, which had earlier been spelled out in bilateral treaties, also on an all-European scale. The postwar period was over once and for all.

Second, the final act is a uniform whole and can be implemented in terms only of its unity. Nobody can take out individual parts and sweep others under the carpet. There is often talk about the "three baskets" of the final act but there happen to be four and the last one should by no means be underestimated. The four main chapters of the final essentially contain the following.

- (a) The basic principles for relations between participating countries, including such decisive principles as respect for sovereignty, inviolability of boundaries and territorial integrity of countries, renunciation of the use or threat of force, the duty peacefully to settle disputes, as well as noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, etc.
- (b) "Basket 2" settles questions of collaboration in the fields of the economy, science, and technology as well as the environment. Naturally, this chapter is based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. By the way: economic collaboration is expressly tied to the fundamental principles of relations between participating states through the statement to the effect "that their collaboration in this area should be carried out with full respect for the principles which guide these relations, as listed in the pertinent document."
- (c) The third chapter concerns "collaboration in the humanitarian and other sectors." This chapter is aimed at "contributing to strengthening peace and understanding between peoples and the intellectual enrichment of the human personality." Like chapter 2, this part likewise is expressly tied to respect for the fundamental principles of relations among participating countries which, among other things, includes noninterference in the internal affairs of other states. Those who in the West act today as if only "basket 3" had been signed in Helsinki and who furthermore try to falsify the content of that basket which is aimed at peace and understanding and who want to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist states with

counterrevolutionary and anti-detente actions are crudely violating not only the third chapter but also the final act as a whole.

(d) The fourth chapter of the final act deals with the "consequences of the conference." It is of such great significance because here we find confirmed the fact that the Helsinki conference will not be the last stop on the road to peace and security. The participating countries declared "their determination to continue the multilateral process initiated by the conference" and in this context expressly stressed "the development of the detente process in the future." The coming Belgrade meeting is the next station on that way.

Third, the results of the Helsinki conference are again for all peoples, also beyond Europe's borders, because peace was consolidated. "The final act of Helsinki is a triumph of Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems which was justified and proclaimed already at the moment when the young Soviet government was born" (Hermann Axen, 15th SED Central Committee Conference, ND [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND], 3 October 1975). For the dyed-in-the-wool opponents of detente, the result of the conference was "a victory for the Russians on points" (THE ECONOMIST, 2 August 1975). These people felt sick already when they heard the concept: detente. This is why they directed crude attacks not only against the realities which had arisen but also against leading imperialist politicians who had recognized it. As L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, there were of course no victors and no vanquished at the Helsinki conference. The cause of peace won and the Cold Warriors lost. The Helsinki conference marks the beginning of a new chapter in the struggle for a really lasting and secure peace.

#### Final Act Proved Itself--But Opponents Continue to Undermine It

Europe's socialist states have done very much--specifically, considerably more than the capitalist countries--toward infusing the final act of Helsinki with life and implementing it as a whole. Our record is positive. Comrade Erich Honecker had this to say at the Fifth SED Central Committee Conference: "If we look at the international situation, such as it is right now, then we can recognize the great effects of the Helsinki conference in favor of the continuation and stabilization of detente."

But the further detente progresses, the more massive are also becoming the counterattacks by reactionary imperialist forces which want to drag Europe and the world back into the trenches of the Cold War. Their attempts of subsequently achieving what they failed to achieve by force, blackmail, or threat during the worst times of the Cold War, at using the detente documents in order thus to penetrate the socialist countries with nonpeaceful and counterrevolutionary intentions--those attempts of course have no chance whatsoever.

Somebody in the United States figured out a special escapade against the final act. The United States Congress quickly set up a "Commission to Check on the Implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE." The "human rights" and the entire "basket 3" were selected as targets of this "control." The

self-appointed commission of course was not supposed to look after rights in the United States where much work would have to be done in that respect. More than 12 million American citizens for example are denied so basic a human right as the right to work. The goal of the rather gruff checkers was Europe where they thought they could blow the wind of Cold War into the socialist countries. Nothing came of that and this is obviously due to the fact that nobody in Helsinki authorized the United States to take upon itself the role of a senior inspector or heating up the Cold War.

One cannot overlook the fact that anti-detente tendencies are also on the increase in the FRG. Undeterred, there is talk of "keeping open" the German issue although nothing is really open here. Specifically oriented provocations and attacks against the international boundary of the GDR--there were a thousand of them in 1976 alone--are covered up by FRG justice. This hostile attitude springs from the revanchist Bonn ideas that the international boundary between the GDR and FRG represents only an "inner-German" boundary, such as the border between two FRG federal states.

Could there be a coarser violation of the final act of Helsinki which makes the inviolability of boundaries and respect for territorial integrity a duty? The FRG still sticks to the fiction of a uniform German nationality which of course would be under FRG control. The GDR--a sovereign state without citizens! How long do they want to hold on to that relic of the Cold War? It has after all died a long time ago. The West Berlin issue is also being used once again to stir up tension. What business do FRG government agencies or institutions of the Western Pact system have in West Berlin? The Four-Power Agreement expressly provides that West Berlin is not a part of the Federal Republic and must not be governed from it. But, through the back door, they are trying to treat West Berlin like a state of the Federal Republic and once again to make it a source of trouble. What does that have to do with peace and detente in Europe?

And the imperialist hubbub about human rights! Exploiting a handful of notorious haters of socialism and law violators in some socialist countries, reactionary imperialist politicians and their mass media are staging a large-scale slander campaign against socialism and are playing themselves up as the defenders of human rights. The originators of this campaign of course completely missed the boat in selecting the topic. They have picked up a boomerang which now hits them. Basic human rights are not only guaranteed constitutionally in the socialist countries but they are also implemented. The right to work, the right to education and recreation, equal rights for men and women and equal rights for people regardless of the color of their skin--all of this is not only on paper but is a part of everyday life in socialist reality.

And what about the capitalist world? Here the situation looks rather dark on those points. More than 20 million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries--where is the right to work? Hundreds of thousands of school graduates begin their "careers" in the unemployment office without any hope for any "job." These pitiful youths are not even recorded as unemployed

in official statistics because they never had a job before that any way! Where then is the right to education? In the GDR on the other hand, let anybody find even a single graduate who does not know before the end of his school days exactly when and where he will begin his vocational training or his college studies. Hiring bans in the FRG and large-scale government opinion snooping--what a mockery of elementary human rights! The picture is no less dark in capitalist countries also with regard to the question of equal rights for women and people with differing skin color and in other sectors. The millions of slum dwellers in the big capitalist countries can tell a sad tale about that. The same imperialist politicians in the FRG, in the United States, and elsewhere, who embraced the hangman of the Chilean people, Pinochet, and who help extend the life of its murder regime with powerful injections of money, dared to play themselves up as the representatives of human rights!

The time has come for at last starting with the implementation of human rights in the capitalist countries. The time has also come to stop the nonsensical and completely useless slander campaign against really existing socialism. The march of time cannot be stopped anyway.

The closer we get to the Belgrade conference, the clearly can we hear the voices of reason and realism, the stronger become the demands for not allowing the progress of the detente process to be hindered by anything or anybody. In spite of the maneuvers by the most reactionary imperialist forces, detente has remained the dominant tendency. But vigilance is necessary and nothing will come easy for us without a fight. Peaceful coexistence --we can be sure--will make further progress.

## 5. Continue to Build on Good Foundation

### 1. Do Not Allow Gains to Be Threatened

The period of 32 years of peace in Europe must not become a new prewar age. The final act of Helsinki and the European treaties laid a good foundation for a lasting peace. It must not be destroyed so that the edifice of peace can be fully erected. In spite of the loud chorus of the enemies of detente, one can also hear many voices of reason in the West, such as this one: "anybody who wants to continue detente, must not demand too much and must not destroy that which has been achieved" (SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 12-13 March 1977). What has been achieved must be made irreversible and must be further expanded. This presently above all calls for the following:

First of all to materialize the detente process further, that is to say, to consolidate and expand collaboration in Europe through treaties, agreements, and other measures--because stagnation would mean sliding back and would only benefit the enemies of detente;

Second, consistently to implement the final act of Helsinki in its full unity. This final act is not a department store catalogue from which one can pick cheap individual items; instead, it is valid only as a whole. This principle bears the signature of 35 leading statesmen;

Third, political detente must be extended not only worldwide but must at all costs be supplemented with military detente because everything that has been attained so laboriously would otherwise be in danger.

## 2. Main Link in Chain of Present-Day Peace Struggle

The ultimate goal of socialist peace strategy is general and complete disarmament. It is not the fault of the socialist world that this goal is presently not yet attainable. But we must and we will not lose sight of it; instead, we will continue the fight. V. I. Lenin taught us that communists must know how "at any moment to find that special link in the chain which must be grasped with full force in order to hold the entire chain and to prepare the transition to the next chain link with a firm hand" (V. I. Lenin, WERKE, Dietz Publishers, Berlin, 1960, Vol 27, p 265).

This main link in the chain of the international peace struggle today is the termination of the arms race and the transition to genuine disarmament. The reasons for that are quite obvious.

A contradictory situation has arisen in international politics. On the one hand, detente has become the main tendency in international relations and the principles of peaceful coexistence are prevailing more and more. On the other hand, imperialist powers are to a great extent pushing the arms race, that is to say, the material preparation of a new war. If this process is not stopped, then, some day, the spark of a provocative conflict could also lead to a local clash and to the hell of a nuclear world war. Mankind today sits on a mountain of weapons whose global employment would wipe out all life on earth several times over. There now are more than 15 tons of explosives per capita of the world's population! According to the United Nations, the world presently is spending about \$300 billion per year for armament. that is to say, half a million dollars per minute!

The USSR is the only big power which in recent years has not increased its military expenditures but has reduced them. In 1971 they came to 11.1 percent of the government budget. In 1972 they were cut to 10.3 percent, in 1973 to 9.9 percent, in 1974 to 9.1 percent, in 1975 to 8.4 percent, in 1976 to 7.8 percent. This year, defense expenditures will be cut by another R200 million, that is to say, to 7.2 percent of the budget, and they will amount to R17.2 billion.

In the NATO countries, on the other hand, arms expenditures were pushed tremendously year after year. The United States in 1977 increased its arms budget by 12.4 percent compared to the preceding year, to a record high of \$113 billion. In the FRG, arms expenditures went up 80 percent since 1971. This year they amount to more than DM48 billion, in other words, more than 28 percent of the FRG budget. In 1976, the NATO countries spent \$155 billion for war preparations!

And did this arms race perhaps reduce the unemployment rate, as the supporters of the arms race seek to persuade innocuous spirits? The exact opposite is

the case. The army of unemployed grew parallel to the arms race in recent years! In the particularly heavy automated military-industrial complex, stepped-up armaments do not create any new jobs. The arms crash program --which deprives other sectors of tremendous funds--causes all of the weaknesses of the capitalist exploiter system to become worse, such as the currency crisis, inflation, the crisis in education, mass unemployment, and so forth and so on. But one thing cannot be overlooked: in the arms industry of the imperialist countries, the profit rate is one and a half or even two times greater than in civilian branches. That is what it is all about.

Aggressive imperialist circles find one particularly popular pretext for their high-gear arms race in the old but again and again warmed-up lie about a threat from the Soviet Union which, according to public opinion surveys, is even supposed to be preparing for a Blitzkrieg against the West. This piece of slander has of course been refuted by the fact a hundred times over. Socialism is not threatening anybody. But, since World War II, more than a hundred wars and armed conflicts have sprung from capitalist countries. What springs from the USSR and other socialist countries is the urge to end the arms race and to take disarmament measures. But let us listen to the big-bourgeois London TIMES: "As anybody, who is familiar with the Soviet Union, can confirm, the Russians are not planning a Blitzkrieg against Western Europe. The real source of danger--not of limited operations but of a worldwide conflict--is the continued arms race. The measures advocated by Haig, Chalfont, and other advocates of the hard line would not only slow down but only heat up the arms race."

There is a particularly important fact which makes the discontinuation of the arms race an urgent commandment of the present. The elements of the monopoly bourgeoisie, who derive billions in profits from the arms business and who keep the spiral of the arms race going, need a corresponding political climate for that. They do not want to eliminate the contradiction between detente and arms race by stopping the arms race; instead, they want to do this by ending international detente and doing away with everything that has been achieved in this spirit for the purpose of consolidating peace. They are arming not because the international situation is so bad but because they want to create a bad situation in order to be able to arm more and to rake in maximum profits. This is a dangerous game. That game includes those attacks by the enemies of detente which include crude interference in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries, the escalation of border provocations against the GDR, the disregard of the Four-Power West Berlin Agreement, stepped-up revanchism in the FRG, and the rising noise of the cold war--the closer we get to the Belgrade conference.

The basic feature of the--by the way useless--rush against international detente is stepped-up anti-Sovietism and anticomunism in whose soil the neofascist threat proliferates. This is why Luis Corvalan, secretary general of Chile's communist party, emphasized at the January 1977 Moscow World forum of peace forces that the struggle for peace must include the fight against anti-Sovietism, against all manifestations of fascism, and against attacks upon democracy and human rights.

The fight to end the arms race and to switch to disarmament has indeed become the main issue. If we do not make any headway on that issue, then international detente will be in danger.

Some things have been achieved to control the danger of war but this is only a beginning. That beginning includes important international treaties such as those:

On the ban on nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in space, and under water;

On the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons;

On the peaceful use of space;

On the ban against stationing nuclear weapons on the bottom of the oceans;

On the ban on and the destruction of all bacteriological weapons;

As well as the previously mentioned treaties and agreements entered into by the USSR and the United States in 1972-1974. This is a beginning which does reduce the danger of war but which does not eliminate it. It is necessary to take qualitatively new and weightier steps in order to stop the arms race and to go on to real disarmament. Many significant initiatives and activities have sprung from the USSR and the socialist countries allied with it and they have been up for debate in the international arena since they were advanced.

[Signed to press 16 May 77, pp 4-5]

### [Text] 3. A Big Program and Significant Steps Forward

The "Program for the Further Struggle for Peace and International Collaboration, for the Freedom and Independence of Peoples," which was adopted in February 1976 by the 25th CPSU Congress, was made the joint fighting program of the community of socialist states as a result of the resolutions of the ninth SED party congress and the party congresses of other brother parties. It has become a good foundation for numerous activities against the arms race and for the switch to disarmament. No responsible politician can ignore this program which is in keeping with the striving of the peoples for a stable peace.

#### Important UN Resolutions Achieved

On the basis of the expanded peace program, the USSR submitted to the 31st United Nations General Assembly significant proposals in a memorandum which decisively influenced the course and result of the General Assembly.

In one resolution, the world forum supported the Soviet proposal for concluding an international treaty on the renunciation of force in international relations and decided to submit the specific treaty draft, supplied by the Soviet Union, to all governments and once again to put it up for debate at the next United Nations General Assembly.

The General Assembly confirmed the text of a convention on the ban on the misuse of the environment for military and other hostile purposes which is now being submitted for signature and ratification.

The United Nations General Assembly confirmed the need for drafting and concluding a treaty banning chemical weapons. The time has come once and for all to do away with dangerous chemical weapons.

In another resolution, the United Nations decided to continue work on a treaty concerning the ban on the creation of new types and new systems of mass destruction weapons. As a result of the resistance of the imperialist states and the obstruction policy of the Chinese representatives, no progress could so far be achieved on that issue which is so important to peace.

Another resolution urges all nuclear powers, together with other countries which do not have nuclear weapons, to enter into negotiations on a treaty concerning the complete and general ban on nuclear weapons tests.

The Soviet proposal for summoning a world disarmament conference has for years been on the agenda of international discussions. It was given United Nations support also in several resolutions. But some atomic powers have so far opposed this kind of significant conference. The 31st United Nations General Assembly has now decided to summon a special United Nations conference on questions of disarmament for May and June 1978. Such a conference can certainly pave the way for a world disarmament conference.

The socialist states continue to advocate the elimination of local conflict foci in the world with full determination. The Near East conflict is still highly explosive; it demands a political solution with the participation of the Arab people of Palestine. Almost all United Nations countries continue categorically to demand Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since 1967. The overwhelming majority of United Nations members, in a resolution of the 31st General Assembly, demanded the speedy resumption of the Geneva Near East Conference with the inclusion of the PLO as legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people.

Thus, the initiatives of the USSR and its allies in the United Nations likewise set the switches toward further detente, toward the reduction of the arms race and the transition to disarmament. It will take an untiring common struggle by all peace forces to make sure that this correct course will be strictly pursued and will lead to tangible results.

## **Stagnation in Vienna and in SALT II Must Be Overcome!**

Negotiations have been underway in Vienna since November 1973 between the participating socialist and capitalist states on mutual reduction of forces and armaments in Central Europe. At the start of negotiations there was complete unanimity on the principle of undiminished identical security for all participants. No side should emerge with military advantages or disadvantages. Everyone also agreed that both foreign and national troops would have to be covered by this reduction--naturally, including their equipment.

But the negotiations have not made any headway for more than three years. Why? The NATO states abandoned the agreed-upon basis for negotiations and switched to the nonsensical demand for an "asymmetrical" reduction. They proposed, for example, that the personnel of the American forces in Europe be reduced by 29,000 men, whereby their equipment is supposed to remain in Europe. At the same time they demand that the USSR withdraw almost three times as many troops, including all of their gear and military equipment! To justify this idea, the NATO representatives talk about the alleged "imbalance" of the forces which would thus have to be evened out. The untenability of this assertion is rejected even by experts in Western countries who believe that identical military strength is in existence. Even United States Defense Secretary Brown started with this fact and added: "Small differences in numbers do not matter here."

On the occasion of their meeting at the end of January of this year, British Prime Minister Callaghan and FRG Chancellor Schmidt also emphasized that it is important "to preserve the military balance." And Willy Brandt declared even more clearly that the members of the Western alliance are willing "to see to it that the balance in Europe is not destroyed." In other words: through their unrealistic demands at the Vienna negotiating table, the NATO countries want to force a change in the military balance of power in their favor and to the detriment of socialism. The socialist states of course cannot and will not go for that. A change is necessary in the attitude of the NATO countries so that the deadlock at the Vienna negotiations can be broken and so that a reduction in the military confrontation in Europe can be achieved for the sake of consolidating peace. During the 11th negotiating round, which ended in the middle of April 1977, there was no indication that the NATO countries were turning away from their destructive position.

One urgent point, which is likewise on the agenda in international politics, is the successful continuation of the so-called SALT negotiations between the USSR and the United States. The issue here is the conclusion of a new, long-term agreement on strategic arms limitations. The first, temporary agreement in 1972 is scheduled to run out in October of this year. The basic features of the new agreement had already been coordinated on the very highest

level, when L. I. Brezhnev and Gerald Ford met in Vladivostok in November 1974. But the United States at first put the entire matter on ice and stopped the negotiations. The world public expects the new American administration under Carter to extricate the project from its many years of stagnation and to make sure that the new agreement can be signed at the right time. But Secretary of State Vance appeared in Moscow in the end of March 1977 with some rather strange "proposals" which questioned everything that has been achieved so far. They boiled down to wiping out the Vladivostok agreements and altering the military balance of power in the area of strategic weapons in favor of the United States. Thus the United States, for example, demanded a green light for the unrestricted construction of the so-called "winged rockets," that is to say, strategic offensive weapons with nuclear payload. By way of "reciprocity" the United States magnanimously wanted to allow the USSR to keep producing medium-range bombers which have nothing whatsoever in common with strategic offensive weapons. Mr. Vance had further "suggestions" for the unilateral disarmament measures of the USSR in his briefcase. The naiveness of such negotiating positions has produced head-shaking even in the United States among many politicians and journalists.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko at a press conference in Moscow on 30 March 1977 declared: "As we look at these proposals objectively, we easily arrive at the conclusion that they are aimed at attaining unilateral advantages for the United States to the detriment of the Soviet Union, its security, and the security of our allies and friends. The Soviet Union could never accept that sort of thing."

All forces interested in the continuation of the detente process expect the United States government to adopt more realistic positions so that the long-term strategic arms limitation agreement, which is so important to the consolidation of peace, may come about at the right time. The USSR government repeatedly expressed its firm determination to do everything within its power in order to put an end to the arms race and to arrive at new agreements with the United States in spite of all difficulties. It remains to be hoped that the necessary process of rethinking and of a turn toward more realistic positions within the United States leadership will not take up too much time.

Right after President Carter's inauguration, one could hear voices of reason in the United States who turned against the anti-Soviet campaign and advocated a decided improvement in relations between the United States and the USSR. Thus, the American committee on American-Soviet relations observed in a declaration: "It is simply untrue that the United States in recent years has given everything and has not received anything in return as part of its relations with Russia or that the Soviet Union never kept its promises. A series of agreements, achieved in earlier years, proves to be beneficial to both sides. What is required primarily is an energetic departure from the tired old slogan and ways of thinking of the Cold War."

#### 4. New Initiative by Warsaw Pact Countries

The struggle for a lasting peace permits no breathing spell. Every standstill would only play into the hands of the enemies of detente in the imperialist

world. At their Bucharest conference of the political advisory committee in November 1976, the Warsaw Pact countries took a new significant initiative. The resolutions adopted there are aimed at logically and consistently:

Continuing the process of detente and making it irreversible,

Supplementing political detente with military detente and

Eliminating existing foci of conflict in Europe and in other parts of the world.

The declaration, adopted at the conference, comes up with a positive evaluation of the time which has passed since the All-European Conference of Helsinki but at the same time points to "the forces of reaction, militarism, and revisionism which are trying to create new conflict situations and to stir up the arms race." The farreaching program of the Warsaw Pact countries--which strengthens all important peace activities in the international arena--orients us primarily toward "the discontinuation of the arms race and towards disarmament, primarily in the nuclear fields, as well as the elimination of the danger of a world war."

In order "to take a new, effective step toward the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war," the Bucharest conference of the Warsaw Pact addressed to all countries that signed the final act of Helsinki the proposal that they pledge themselves, in a common treaty, "not to resort to first-strike nuclear weapons employment against each other." The draft of such a treaty is available. Is it not compellingly logical that such an international law obligation would indeed extraordinarily reduce the danger of nuclear war? In particular one must not overlook the greater degree of security also for those countries which have no nuclear weapons but which would be devastatingly be hit by an atomic war.

The proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries have produced a very broad and positive echo in Europe and beyond. And what about the NATO countries? They came out with a loud: no! At their December 1976 Brussels conference, the NATO agencies, for example, rejected the proposal--to renounce the initial use of nuclear weapons against one another--as being "unacceptable." They want to stick to the aggressive line of being able to launch nuclear weapons at any time and in a first strike. Did the advocates of that strategy perhaps fail to note how suicidal that is? No, they know that only too well. Still, they stick to that course. It may be madness but there is a method behind it--the arms race must go on.

Increasing objections are being heard also within the NATO countries against the stereotyped method of at first fundamentally rejecting every proposal submitted by the community of socialist states. Thus, objections could be heard even from George Kennan who, a quarter of a century ago, was one of those who whipped up the Cold War as the inventor of the policy of "Containment" of socialism. In a television interview in the United States, he declared among other things: "We are those who actually introduced the

principle of first-strike nuclear weapons use. The Russians recently proposed that we drop the whole thing. But we immediately get angry and reject the whole thing with contempt. In my opinion that is highly challengeable."

The NATO countries also turned down the Warsaw Pact proposal to renounce the expansion of existing and the creation of new political-military alliances. One refusal quite logically supplements the other one.

Let us remember: more than 10 years ago, the proposal of the community of socialist states, to summon an all-European conference on security and cooperation, initially also met with brusque rejection from NATO. But in the end the successful road to Helsinki was traveled because one thing had become quite clear: there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. This is the way it will continue to be in the future. The proposals from the Warsaw Pact countries constitute a long-term program whose implementation will not be achieved without a struggle. But there is every reason for optimism. In a comment on the resolutions of the Bucharest conference, the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers of the GDR expressed the conviction "that the goals of the Bucharest conference will be achieved because they are in keeping with the vital interests of the people. This confidence is based not only on experiences in the materialization of earlier peace initiatives by the Warsaw Pact countries, the strength and influence of the forces advocating this, but also by the fact that these goals are realistic and timely."

##### 5. The Trend of the Times: World Changing for the Better

Today imperialism is less than ever before in a position to regain the historical offensive which it has lost. The balance of power in the world continues to develop in favor of socialism, national and social liberation, and peace. "The world is literally changing before our very eyes and it is changing for the better" (L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress).

###### International Socialism Getting Stronger and Spreading

In this historical conflict of the two opposing systems, socialism continues to gain ground in all areas. Its influence on international events keeps growing while imperialism keeps losing ground. This development also represents a great gain in terms of the consolidation of peace.

The community of socialist states has become the world's stablest and most dynamic part. Between 1950 and 1975, the socialist states increased industrial output 11 times. In the developed capitalist countries, industrial output during the same time was only tripled. This differing tendency became most visible since the beginning of the seventies. Industrial output in the socialist countries between 1971 and 1975 rose an average of 8.3 percent per year whereas in the developed capitalist countries it went up only about 2 percent. This picture has changed even further at this time. Output has dropped directly in many branches of the crisis-shaken capitalist economy, something which bourgeois ideologists rather shamefacedly circumscribe with the term "zero growth." We are moving up in the world and the capitalists are on the skids.

The socialist international system is also gaining literally in terms of volume. The flag of freedom and progress waves today over all Vietnam. Socialism is being built also in the liberated south. With its more than 50 million inhabitants, the United Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the world's third-largest socialist state.

The socialist way of development was launched also in liberated Laos under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Revolutionary People's Party. And what about new, free Angola! The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], after winning its victory, decided to become a Marxist-Leninist party and has proclaimed the construction of socialism throughout the land. If we add to this the magnificent development of Cuba, the first socialist country in America, then we can say that the banner of socialism today waves on four continents of our globe. Admittedly: there is little good news for the leaders of world imperialism who are even more chagrinned today by the independent and progressive development of other countries that have embarked on the road of social progress. This is the way the world turns in the historical epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The change in the world situation for the better in recent years also included the termination of the fascist regimes in Greece and Portugal. Before our very eyes, the Spanish people has also been set in motion and pushes their country on the road toward democratic changes. After 38 years of cruel oppression, the Communist Party of Spain has achieved legal status. When an archreactionary and foe of detente, such as Franz Josef Strauss shortly after the Helsinki conference asserted that the world situation "has changed and deteriorated dramatically," then this confirms only that the cause of peace and progress has advanced well.

#### Revolutionary and Democratic Forces on the Advance

The communist movement has become stronger and has achieved new and great successes also in the countries of capitalism. Based on the results of the significant Berlin conference of Europe's communist and worker parties in June 1976, the influence of many communist parties has grown further in the struggle for peace and social progress. Their collaboration with socialist and other democratic forces has become stronger. France provided an outstanding example for this a few weeks ago. Even the Springer newspaper DIE WELT had to admit: "The community elections in France, during the second round, ended with the triumph of the left and the hitherto most serious defeat of the bourgeois parties in the government. Socialists and communists were able to gain control over more than 70 percent of the country's biggest cities.

The resolutions of the June 1976 Berlin conference of communist and worker parties of Europe provided new and great impetus not only for the cause of peace but also for the struggle against the tremendous power of monopoly capital.

The last bastions of colonialism are tottering. With the full force of its solidarity, the GDR stands side by side with the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe who are conducting a heroic struggle for freedom from colonial and racist oppression. Their struggle will be successful.

We must not underestimate the movement of nonalignment either. The resolutions of the fifth conference of heads of state and government of 85 non-aligned countries held in Colombo in August 1976 made an important contribution to the implementation of peaceful coexistence and the discontinuation of the arms race as well as the struggle against colonialism, fascism and racism.

The fight for a lasting peace is unthinkable without the broad participation of the popular masses, especially the worldwide peace movement. The June 1975 Stockholm appeal of the World Peace Council played a mobilizing role; it called for a resolute fight against the arms race and for general and complete disarmament. We are likewise not getting the positive effect of the first Stockholm appeal against atomic weapons--proclaimed in 1950--in the struggle for the preservation of peace. The world forum of peace forces, which met in Moscow in January 1977 with the participation of 500 delegates from 120 countries, was able to come up with a good review of achievements so far and to outline the next phase in the fight for peace. The world assembly of builders of peace, which was held in Warsaw between 6 and 11 May 1977, became a new high point in the fight of the social forces for the consolidation of peace.

#### Enemy of Detente Is Mobile--But Has no Chance

The notorious enemies of detente are presently stepping up their activities. Thus, CDU politician von Wrangel demanded a more aggressive attitude toward the GDR and urged the FRG government "to count the arrows left in its quiver." Day after day, Strauss, Kohl, and other supporters of the Cold War are shooting poisoned arrows at detente and peaceful collaboration. They keep replenishing their quivers. DIE WELT on 7 February 1977 even went so far as to say that detente could "lead to war." No comment necessary! But, to the utmost regret of this Springer sheet "The regimes in the East have not changed." So, the truth has finally come out: what could not be achieved through cold war, is now supposed to be achieved obviously through detente--the liquidation of socialism. Agreeing with Bertolt Brecht, one might wish to say: "But conditions simply are not so." Brzezinski, President Carter's new national security advisor, admitted: "In my opinion, we cannot use the limited means of pressure which we have in order to achieve fundamental changes in the system of the Soviet Union." Yes, socialism has become untouchable--and that is a lucky thing for peace and for mankind.

The CDU party congress in March of this year repeated the revanchist thesis to the effect that the FRG is "responsible for all Germans," regardless of whether they "live in East Prussia or Silesia, Brandenburg or Thuringia." In the same revanchist spirit, the CDU/CSU fraction in the FRG Lower House on 23 March 1977 directed some sharp attacks at the final act of Helsinki and the treaties of the FRG with the socialist states which are valid under international law. But the facts are forcing responsible politicians to come up with a more sober and realistic judgment of the situation. Thus FRG

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in the Lower House evaluated the results of the Helsinki conference so far as being positive. He countered the CDU/CSU opposition by saying: "The Cold War was not so nice that one should grieve over it or that one should wish to return to it." FRG Foreign Minister Genscher however does not miss a single opportunity for demonstrating his kinship with the advocates of revanchist positions.

It would be useful to the progress of the detente process if the FRG representatives at the coming Belgrade conference were to be guided by common sense and good will. That requirement of course pertains to other countries likewise.

#### Continuing Peace Course

Regarding the socialist countries, their leading representatives repeatedly gave assurances before all the world that, in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the final act of Helsinki, they would do everything to develop the detente process, to make it irreversible, and to turn Europe into a continent of lasting peace. The Belgrade conference could and should also become an important political stimulus for military detente through positive results.

The attacks of militarist and revanchist forces change nothing on the fact that the cause of socialism, of peace, and national and social liberation continues to be on the march. This also strengthens the material base for peace throughout the world. "The steady development of the GDR, its alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community" was referred to by Comrade Erich Honecker at the 2nd SED Central Committee Conference as the "foundation for our policy of peace, security, and collaboration which is wide open to the world." In this way we are making our contribution to peaceful development throughout the world. The policy of the USSR and the other states of the socialist community, which is aimed at a lasting peace, is in keeping with the vital interests of all peoples.

The socialist countries and their friends all over the world have a clear program for the further struggle for peace. The enemies of detente must not and will not get through. The socialist peace strategy was born, in terms of its basic features, almost six decades ago in the fire of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It proved itself in hard fighting, always headed by the Soviet Union, and it has led to great success. It is due to the socialist peace strategy that detente and peaceful coexistence today has become a leading tendency in world politics. It will be continued consistently and it will in the future likewise accompany mankind on the way toward a better future with a secure peace.

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EAST GERMANY

FRG ANALYSIS OF REVISED GDR PENAL LAWS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV in German Vol 10, No 5, May 77 signed to press  
25 Apr 77 pp 452-457

[Article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke: "Improvement of 'Socialist Legality'?--  
Another Revision of GDR Laws on Prosecution, Sentencing, and Treatment of  
Prisoners"]

[Text] Occasionally, even the People's Chamber comes up with surprises. The very fewest of its deputies however would seem to have expected that, during the Fourth Conference of the "supreme people's assembly" on 7 April, they would once again have to approve a considerable revision of penal and enforcement law. In addition to the Law Amending and Supplementing Penal and Enforcement Provisions" (2nd Penal Law Amendment Law) they were supposed to adopt a "Law on the Execution of Punishment With Prison Terms" (Penal Enforcement Law) and a "Law on the Reintegration of Citizens, Released from Prison, To Community Life" (Reintegration Law) (1). All of these three laws took effect already on 5 May. Actually, there was very little reason to expect these laws since the People's Chamber just recently, on 19 December 1974, had adopted farreaching amendments particularly in the Criminal Code as well as the Criminal Trial Regulations and the enforcement and reintegration Law (2).

Moreover, on 7 April the GDR got a new "Law on the Office of the Attorney General of the German Democratic Republic" (GBL [Legal Gazette], I, p 93), which likewise took effect on 5 May and whose submission in the People's Chamber however should not have surprised anybody. The GDR Council of State had given its blessing to the bill already during its 21 February session with the remark that it should be "submitted to the people's chamber for deliberation and adoption" (3)--something which had not happened since the days of Walter Ulbricht.

Third Law on Office of Attorney General

This is the third law on the Office of the Attorney General which the GDR got--and basically it was superfluous. Since the entry into force of the hitherto applicable Law on the Office of the Attorney General of 17 April 1963 (4) became effective, the GDR Constitution and the Court Constitution

Law, the Crminial Code, the Criminal Trial Regulations, as well as the Criminal Enforcement Law had been revised from the bottom up. The StAG [Law on the Office of the Attorney General] made a rather anachronistic impression in many of its phrases and provisions although, in terms of content, it was not in conflict with essential provisions of the law. A new StAG was not created even though this would have been obvious even when, on 27 September 1974, a new Court Constitution Law (GBL, I, p 457) and a new Military Court Regulation (GBL, I, p 481) were adopted for the GDR.

An analysis of the new Law on the Office of the Attorney General does not reveal any qualitative differences compared to the StAG which had been in force until now. Quantitatively speaking, likewise, it remained roughly the same, with 39 paragraphs in the new law and 43 paragraphs in the old one. The preamble was dropped. To be sure, the new StAG is organized more meaningfully and its language is clearer. Specifically, it is subdivided into chapters I-VII whose provisions are entitled as follows: "Position and Tasks of Office of Attorney General" (articles 1-13), "Tasks, Rights, and Duties During Investigative Procedures" (articles 14-19), "Tasks, Rights, and Duties in Legal Proceedings" (articles 20-25), "Tasks, Rights, and Duties in Sentence Implementation, Law Enforcement, and Re-integration" (articles 26-28), "Tasks, Rights, and Duties Connected With General Supervision of Justice" (articles 29-34), "The Attorney General" (articles 35-38), and "Conclusion" (Article 39).

In the GDR, a public prosecutor can only be "a person who is loyally devoted to the working class and the socialist state and who has a high degree of political-technical knowledge and lifetime experience, human maturity, and strength of character," according to Article 35 in the new StAG. "Any citizen of the GDR can be appointed a public prosecutor if his personality meets the requirements for a public prosecutor and if he has acquired a juridical education in a specially designated institution of education or if he is suitable for the activity of a public prosecutor on the basis of his knowledge and abilities."

The new StAG naturally has nothing fundamentally new to say about the function, organization, and competence of the GDR Office of the Public Prosecutor. In articles 97 and 98, the GDR Constitution after all did outline the essential points. According to Article 1, StAG, the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the GDR is "a central agency of the uniform socialist government. It watches over the implementation of the resolutions of the party of the working class on the basis of the Constitution, the laws, and other legal regulations of the GDR regarding strict compliance with socialist legality." The old StAG had not expressly referred to the party resolutions and their implementation. Under the old law, the tasks of the Office of the Public Prosecutor were described in a manner which did not essentially differ from the new one: "The Office of the Public Prosecutor directs the fight against criminal acts," it says in Article 1, paragraph 2. "It is obligated to take the measures legally provided against law violators and will make sure that persons who have committed crimes or misdemeanors will be brought before a court."

The Office of the Public Prosecutor exercises supervision over "strict compliance with legality and the uniform application of law"; in this respect,

according to Article 2, StAG, it must help "protect the socialist social and government system, socialist property, and the national economy" and furthermore "it must protect, preserve, and implement the legally guaranteed rights and interests of the citizens" and "it must consolidate the socialist state and law consciousness of the citizens and it must develop their social activity, vigilance, and intolerance with respect to any law violations and it must prevent law violations." As for the rest, the new StAG confirms the tasks and competence of the Office of the Public Prosecutor during investigation and legal proceedings as before. We might also mention the detail with which the tasks of the JAGs are outlined in Article 10.

#### Revision of Penal Enforcement Law

The provisions regarding penal enforcement in the GDR for the first time were spelled out comprehensively and in a uniform fashion in the "Law on the Execution of Punishment With Prison and the Reintegration of Released Prisoners Into Community Life" (Penal Enforcement and Reintegration Law) on 12 January 1968 (GBL, I, p 109). The 19 December 1974 Law, as we said before, then amended the SVWG [Penal Enforcement and Reintegration Law] with respect to nine out of its 69 paragraphs; the old revision primarily concerned a stepped-up differentiation of the enforcement of a prison sentence and work education as a parallel measure to counter repeat crimes more effectively.

Accordingly, prison sentences were to be carried out in four categories involving different schedules--the "light" schedule, a "general" schedule, a "strict" schedule or a "severe" schedule. Work education--a kind of punishment which was introduced only by the 12 January 1968 Criminal Code in addition to prison sentences and jail as a special form of punishment--was to be carried out in the form of a "general" or a "strict" schedule. Colonel Hans Tunnat, director of the Penal Enforcement Administration in the Ministry of the Interior, assigned "farreaching significance in terms of punishment implementation and, in this connection, in terms of the attainment of the purpose of punishment" (5) to this "effective differentiation" of penal enforcement with reference to Soviet experiences.

According to the Penal Enforcement Law of 7 April, that can now be forgotten. The quadruple differentiation in the execution of prison sentences has been discarded in favor of a double one--it was obviously impossible to implement this in penal enforcement practice, presumably also because penal enforcement personnel were overworked. In the future, a prison sentence in the GDR will thus be carried out either on a "general" or a "light" schedule. This is the most striking change in the new StVG [Penal Enforcement Law]. Specifically, it is broken down into chapters I-X: "Basic Principles" (articles 1-9), "Development of Enforcement" (articles 10-19), "Education During Enforcement" (articles 20-33), "Rights and Duties of Prisoners" (Article 34-38), "Special Features of Execution of Prison Sentences for Juveniles" (articles 39-41), "Housing and Supply of Prisoners" (articles 42-48), "Postponement, Interruption, Discontinuation, and Completion of Execution of Punishment with Prison Sentence" (articles 49-57), "Responsibility for

"Execution of Punishment With Prison Sentences" (articles 58-62), "Supervision by the Office of the Public Prosecutor" (articles 63-64), and "Transition and Concluding Regulations" (articles 65-68).

The decisive tendency in the new GDR Penal Enforcement Law is simplification--externally recognizable by the elimination of the old four categories in the execution of a prison term. The abolition of work education as a special kind of punishment--which we will go into later--likewise served to simplify penal enforcement. The corresponding provision can be found in Article 12, paragraph 2: "The execution of a prison sentence shall be carried out on a general or light schedule." According to Article 12, paragraph 3, the light schedule differs from the general schedule "by virtue of greater freedom of movement for prisoners, increased possibility for the application of positive recognition, restrictions in the application of disciplinary measures, the expanded scope of personal ties with family members and other persons, and a higher degree of authority for purchasing." The crime committed by a sentenced prisoner is decisive in terms of assignment to these schedules. According to articles 13 and 14, a prison sentence based on a general schedule will be carried out if the prisoner was sentenced for crimes--or if he was sentenced because of an intentionally committed misdemeanor but has already previously been punished for another crime; or if the court specifies a general schedule for the execution of the prison term in the verdict. The light schedule is possible when the prisoner was sentenced for a negligently committed crime--or for an intentionally committed crime but has no prior record of punishment for any other crime; or if the court makes a corresponding determination in the verdict. Because political crimes are usually punished as crimes, we must start with the assumption that political prisoners in the GDR will throughout be placed on a "general" schedule, that is to say, the comparatively stricter form of enforcement.

A certain tendency toward humanization of GDR penal enforcement is furthermore absolutely clear--assuming that the corresponding provisions of the new Penal Enforcement Law do not remain just on the paper on which they were printed. In Article 18, the StVG compellingly prescribes that prison sentences for juveniles are to be carried out in youth facilities--something which until now has by no means been natural. Article 11 furthermore provides that "safe custody and education of prisoners must be promoted through segregation during enforcement." We must make a distinction here first of all "according to the types of punishment with prison sentence," secondly, "by sex," third, "between juveniles and adults," and fourth "between first offenders and repeat offenders."

Nothing has changed in the old provisions on the execution of jail sentences and youth detention--and there has been no change either in the provisions for penal arrests which can be carried out with regard to military personnel.

The old principles of "socialist punishment execution" of course also have remained untouched--that is to say, the principle of education through work. "Education during penal enforcement includes assignment to socially

useful work, civic education, implementation of order and discipline, general and vocational training measures, as well as cultural and sports activities," it says in Article 5; by way of supplementation, Article 6 prescribes the following: "Education through socially useful work is at the very focus of the execution of punishment calling for prison sentences. It is intended to promote a sense of responsibility and duty, discipline, as well as active and creative participation in the work process." The duration of work assignments will be equated, after discharge from prison, to the time covered by mandatory insurance.

According to Article 24, StVG, prisoners must be paid for work done through the enforcement institutions and youth facilities "in accordance with the performance principle." Remuneration here of course is not the same as work wages. According to Article 18, First Implementing Regulation to the StVG, the work remuneration is established as follows: "1. For prisoners sentenced to prison terms assigned to work in case of fulfillment of work norms and other indexes of work performance, 18 percent; 2. For youths in vocational training, 35 percent of the amount which workers would draw as net wages or net apprentice pay for the same work for which the prisoners were used." In case of overfulfillment of work norms, these percentages go up and in case of nonfulfillment they go down. Bonuses must be given for usable innovator proposals. The prisoner is entitled to remuneration and bonuses to form a reserve fund for support during reintegration, for the settlement of payment obligations, and for the purchase of personal necessities and for allowances to family members. The monthly shopping pocket money according to Article 20 of the First Implementing Regulation comes to 100 percent of prisoners on a light schedule and juveniles, and up to 75 percent of the monthly remuneration for those on a general schedule (6). In the future, prisoners will get the daily newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND free of charge while juvenile prisoners will get JUNGE WELT free of charge.

The StVG broadens the provisions on "civic education and general education." The most important forms and methods of civic education are included in Article 26, StVG, calling for "lectures, politically timely conversations, information on current events and differentiated talks" whose development must be "supported by means of suitable literature, press publications, films, and radio and television broadcasts." There is one provision in Article 30 of the First Implementing Regulation of the StVG which seems to be more effective in terms of education; accordingly, prisoners on a light schedule may, once a month, receive a visit by as many as two persons for a duration of 1 hour while those on a general schedule may receive such a visit every other month--which represents a considerable improvement compared to the old regulations.

There have been no essential changes in the disciplinary and security provisions. The list of possible disciplinary measures was differentiated much more and includes the following measures: "expression of disapproval," "warning through interview with threat of stricter disciplinary measure," "restriction or withdrawal of privileges," "restriction on authorization for monthly purchasing" and "arrest" up to 21 days and, in the case of juveniles, up to 14 days (Article 32). Segregation or solitary confinement

likewise continue to be permissible as security measures (Article 33). The new thing is that the law for the first time not only spells out duties but also, expressly, the rights of the prisoners. This is significant although, in Article 34, the rights of prisoners, compared to penal enforcement conditions in the past, were not increased considerably. If, for example, "assignment to socially useful work, complying with legal regulations on working hours and work remuneration" can be guaranteed by law, then this is certainly significant in everyday enforcement situations because until now legal regulations on working hours were frequently ignored through "voluntary compulsion" to put in overtime and to work on holidays in production enterprises within GDR penitentiaries.

Of course, nothing has changed in conditions there. The enforcement of punishment with prison sentences is still a matter for the Ministry of the Interior, as it has been since 1950. The Enforcement Administration is directly responsible for this in the Ministry of the Interior. The new StVG likewise changes nothing in the supervisory duty of the Office of the Public Prosecutor in connection with the execution of prison sentences.

In conclusion we might remark that Chapter VIII of the hitherto valid Penal Enforcement and Reintegration Law, concerning "measures for the reintegration of discharged prisoners into community life," was not included in the new StVG but was set up separately in the form of an independent reintegration law. Its 13 paragraphs further expand the old provisions on reintegration (7) as "concerns for society as a whole."

#### Criminal Law Revised Again

The GDR Criminal Code underwent a series of amendments and supplementations (8) through the Second Criminal Law Amendment Law of 7 April. Here we must especially mention the abolition of lifetime prison sentences for juveniles as well as the elimination of so-called work education as a type of punishment. Of rather historical interest is the fact that the 15 December 1950 "Law for the Protection of Peace" (GBL, p 1199) as well as the 1 September 1964 "Law on the Nonexpiration of the Statute of Limitations for Nazi and War Criminals" (GBL, I, p 127), and the "Law for the Protection of the Civic and Human Rights of GDR Citizens" (GBL, I, p 81) were formerly repealed. After the 12 January 1968 Criminal Code had become law, those three laws were expressly not invalidated.

The provision, created by the new version of Article 78, StGB [Criminal Code]--to the effect that juveniles may not be sentenced to death or to life imprisonment--is certainly a positive thing. It reminds us at the same time that juveniles--in other words, young people between the ages of 14 and 18--until now could be so severely punished in the GDR and indeed were so punished, as was indirectly confirmed in Article 5 of the Second Criminal Law Amendment Law: "A life sentence, handed down against a juvenile prior to the entry into force of this law, shall terminate at the latest 15 years after the start of the sentence."

The abolition of so-called work education is of course astonishing. It had been introduced only in 1968 with the new StGB for the purpose of

more effectively counteracting "asocial behavior" and could according to Article 249, StGB, be ordered only in case of a "threat to the public order by asocial behavior" (9). In the future a prison sentence can be given in this case although this has been a possible alternative until now. What used to be work education until now--carried out in special work education detachments--obviously did not prove worthwhile in criminal policy terms.

In the future, GDR criminal law will, with regard to punishment calling for imprisonment, include only the actual prison sentence, jail, criminal arrest, and youth detention.

The Second Criminal Law Amendment Law makes a contribution to environmental protection by adding articles 191a and 191b to the StGB. With its help, it is possible to punish the "causing of an environmental threat."

#### Political Criminal Law Tightened Up

The Second Criminal Law Amendment Law finally makes various provisions of political criminal law more severe. Article 90, StGB, in the future threatens prison sentences of up to 2 years for "anyone who, in contradiction to international law, decisively or with special activities cooperates--by way of special extension of the legal sovereignty of the FRG--in persecuting citizens of the GDR because of the exercise of their constitutional civic rights, in urging their persecution or ordering their persecution." The old version called for 10 years of imprisonment only in particularly serious cases. This provision obviously is aimed at the work of the Central Recording Agency of the State Justice Administrations in Salzgitter.

The introduction of lifetime prison sentences "for particularly serious cases" of assisting in escape likewise makes these provisions more severe; this is a crime which, in Article 105 of the GDR Criminal Code, is defined as "anti-State slave trade." Its version so far merely called for a minimum sentence, not a maximum sentence. The reason behind this increased severity would seem to have been the need for a greater deterrent effect. That applies also the expansion of the determination of the facts of the case in "anti-State hatemongering" in Article 106, StGB, which is equivalent to a more severe provision. Anyone who in the future commits this crime in the opinion of a GDR court and who cooperated "with organizations, institutions, groups, or persons who are conducting a struggle against the GDR," will face up to 10 years in prison. So far the only way the punishment was made more severe resulted from the fact that Western publicity agencies or institutions were used during "anti-State hatemongering"--whereas Article 106 of the Criminal Code had nothing to say about organizations or groups or persons.

The determination of the facts of the case was also expanded in Article 214, StGB: "Impairment of State or Social Activity," which may be engaged in in the future "by anybody who impairs the activity of government agencies by force or threat or who expresses contempt for the law or urges

contempt for the law in a manner endangering the public order." The new version of Article 220, StGB, would probably also boil down to a more severe provision. Critical comments, which until now could be prosecuted as "slander against the State" with a sentence of up to 2 years, could henceforth be punished already as "public degradation."

#### Revision or Perfection?

The new provisions for criminal law and criminal enforcement law have been characterized in the GDR as the expression of the "further perfection of socialist justice." Interior Minister Friedrich Dickel, in his justification of the draft of the StVG, cited the UN recommendations for the treatment of prisoners which would be even more in line with the new law "using the advantages of socialist society." And Justice Minister Hans-Joachim Heusinger in the People's Chamber praised "the strict preservation of socialist legality and the guarantee of legal security," which "are an inseparable part of the life of all workers in social security and protection" (10). The most recent criminal law and penal enforcement law revision is to a great extent motivated by the need for correcting improper developments or lifting provisions which had tarnished the image of the GDR. More severe treatment provided in some political criminal provisions prove how directly criminal law still affects politics in the GDR.

The latter aspect also explains the new version of the preamble for the GDR Criminal Code as expressed by the Second Criminal Law Amendment Law. It is shorter and its language has become more objective. In the past, GDR criminal law was to serve "especially for the decisive struggle against criminal attacks springing from West German imperialism and its allies"; the new preamble drops this kind of propaganda jabberwocky. Still, GDR criminal law as always has the task "of protecting the socialist government and social system as well as the rights and interests of the citizens against criminal actions, especially criminal attacks against peace and the GDR." The worker-and-peasant state no longer wants to be the "true German government of laws" which the GDR was described as in the old preamble. This passage was deleted in the new preamble without replacement.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See "Law on the Amendment and Supplementation of Criminal and Criminal Procedural Law Provisions (Second Criminal Law Amendment Law)" of 7 April 1977 (GBL, I, p 100); "Law on the Execution of Punishment With Imprisonment (Penal Enforcement Law)" of 7 April 1977 (GBL, I, p 109); as well as, in this connection, the "First Implementing Regulation to the Penal Enforcement Law" of 7 April 1977 (GBL, I, p 118) and the "Second Implementing Regulation to the Penal Enforcement Law" of 7 April 1977 (GBL, I, p 123); and "Law on the Reintegration of Citizens Released from Prison Into Community Life (Reintegration Law)" of 7 April 1977 (GBL, I, p 98). The agenda of the 7 April People's Chamber Session furthermore included the passage of two laws on legal aid treaties which the GDR had signed with Somalia and Guinea-Bissau, a poison law and a law on the creation and award of government decorations.

2. See "Law Amending the Criminal Code, the Adaptation Law, and the Law on the Fight Against Disciplinary Violations" (GBL, I, p 591); "Law Amending the Criminal Procedural Regulations of the German Democratic Republic" (GBL, I, p 597); "Law Amending the Law on the Execution of Punishment With Imprisonment and on the Reintegration of Discharged Prisoners Into Community Life" (GBL, I, p 607); "Law on the Amendment of the Law on Entry in and Deletion From the Criminal Register of the German Democratic Republic" (GBL, I, p 609); all of them dated 19 December 1974.
3. "Council of State debated current issues of domestic politics," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 22 February 1977.
4. See "Law on the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the GDR" of 17 April 1963 (GBL, I, p 57). It was preceded by the "Law on the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the GDR" of 23 May 1952 (GBL, p 408).
5. Hans Tunnat, "Consistent Implementation of the Law Assures High Effectiveness of Penal Enforcement," FORUM DER KRIMINALISTIK, No. 3, 1975, p 112.
6. According to the hitherto valid provisions, the amount, which could be left to prisoners for their own needs, came to M20-55 per month, depending upon their work performance and their schedule of penal enforcement. See Article 28, First Implementing Regulation, SVWG, 25 March 1975 (GBL, I, p 313), likewise repealed on 5 May 1977.
7. See Hans-Henning Bruhn, "Measures for the Reintegration of Discharged Prisoners in the GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 6, 1971, pp 218 ff.
8. To the extent that the amendment of the Second Criminal Law Amendment Law relates to criminal trial regulations and the Criminal Register Law, they concern adaptations which result from the amendments to the Criminal Code.
9. See also Friedrich-Christian Schroeder, "Stepped-Up Fight Against Parasites in GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 8, 1976, pp 834 ff.
10. See "The Legal System of the GDR Is Being Further Developed," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9-10 April 1977.

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ROMANIA

SHORTCOMINGS IN LITERATURE CITED ON EVE OF WRITERS CONGRESS

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 20 May 77 pp 1-2

[Article by Dumitru Micu: "Under the Sign of Revolutionary Humanism"]

[Text] Since the last National Writers Conference, Romanian literature has grown continually, in a natural way and in a constant rhythm. "A Wish Without Satiety," "Hannibal," "The Temple From Without," "October, November, December," "At the Lilacs," "The Little Charm," "The Hymns of Happiness," "The Hymns of Transylvania," "The Repeatable Burden," "Suddenly Land," "Delirium," "The Royal Hunt," "Water," "Inspirations," "Before the Silence," "Doctor Poenaru," "The Last Road," "The Faces of Silence," "The Gallery of the Wild Vine," "The Meter Reader," "Matca" and "The Cold" are some of the lyrical, epic and dramatic writings that have appeared during this interval. Some of these writings, it must be pointed out, are of unquestionable value and about some others, in any case, one cannot say anything when trying to characterize the Romanian literary personage of today. To this is added an appreciable number of volumes which constitute doubtless achievements of criticism and especially of literary history, the theory of literature and aesthetics.

In the work of belletristic creation, the most characteristic fact of these years, with proof, is the orientation towards content and, implicitly, a more closer integration of literature in the general social-ideological context. By continuing to pay full attention to the techniques of writing and trying hard, as in the years before, to put to best use all the experience acquired from all over, the writers do not, normally, make their formal innovations a purpose in and of itself and do not innovate at any price or try to become true innovators, but rather they subordinate their technical searchings to the task of reflecting as adequately as possible upon the profound reality and of capturing the major significance of the presented phenomena of life. The viable novels that have appeared since 1972 are animated (similar to the ones prior to that time) by the enthusiasm of the truth and by the tenacious desire to show existance in all its authenticity, beginning with facts (understand: with representative, typical facts) and not with theories drawing upon preconceived ideas

and destroying schemes. The themes and typology of the current prose are very varied and the areas explored are numerous and diverse and the writers (the true ones) do not advocate simple illustrations of general truths, but try to find the living man, who is a concrete, unique being, within the work processes and in the vast framework of social existence, to illuminate the human processes and to uncover drama. Not just a few epic productions have an "esthetic" character. Criticism speaks of "the active novel." Through "activism," through "essayism," through its problematical nature and through the act of transforming legends into a means of ideological and philosophical discussion, Romanian prose is making its mark as one of the defining high points of universal contemporary writing. A peculiar trait of contemporary Romanian prose and dramaturgy is uncomplicated pathos, resulting from placing polemics in balance with the literature written during the course of the first decade of our republic which presented reality in the colors of roses. The novels, especially those inspired by rural situations, but not just those, described the processes of society and history as carried out in the years of revolutionary structural transformation with absolute realism, without any type of embellishment, simplification or confusion. In some of these, one could even observe a certain ostentatious attitude in uncovering the hard aspects of reality and in denouncing their anomalies, an increasing tendency among these impostaors and pseudorevolutionaries. These people had a remarkable artistic effect upon the times that was only intermittently equalled, unfortunately, by those works in which the positive force and the new was expressed. In other works, on the other hand, artistic excellence was held by the typology of exemplary human society, in the center of which was found "the communist of mankind."

An analogous situation is depicted, mutatis mutandis, in the field of poetry. The excitement regarding the experiments not having any other end except obtaining the most unusual products and which, at a given moment, involved a good number of young people, was inevitably followed by the awaited return to reason. And, if prior to the 1972 conference there did frequently appear in print collections of esoterical, extravagant poems, in the years that followed these types of poetry were pushed more and more toward the periphery of literary life. However, there still does appear, by accident, a volume of verses that is totally without meaning, hermetic in its lack of substance and eccentric in its childish manner. Similar to the case of the writers, the poets of real talent are by definition seekers of new words and styles and destroyers of patterns. And, by virtue of this fact, they do not understand innovation as the simple replacement of certain cliches with other ones, for the simple reason that these other cliches are a more recent development. The true poet does not seek notoriety by whatever means or to attract public attention to himself by the cheapest type of buffoonery and he does not aspire to a glory of foolishness or "nonsense." The true poet is a messenger of humanity and public awareness who distinguishes himself from others in a natural way, to the degree in which his work is recognized. Attempts to be a standout by creating scandals can bring some momentary satisfaction, but, in the end, the tricks will be exposed and punished as such, in some

cases with an excess of firmness. Take a retrospective look at a lyrical piece (or epic or dramatic or critical piece) from the last 10-15 years and you will find that the "innovations" and spectacular "daring," around which all the trumpets of warning were sounded, will no longer impress you and certain writings that received lesser notice when they appeared have proved to be current and enduring. As an expression of man, poetry is filled eo ipso with a moral, philosophical, social and political content; the isolation and ignoring of passions, fears, wishes and obsessions are equivalent with dehumanization. That is, with suicide. There is nothing more natural, more inherent to lyrical vibrancy than the assimilation, during a historical period of construction in which the intimate moral movement coincides with the tumult of the era, of the dynamic civic ideas of patriotic feeling.

These are, as viewed from high above, the central, active zones of literary work. Surrounding these zones, there are others that are not at all delightful. For several years, we have been working on an unprecedented categorization of the novel. In 1976, over 60 novels appeared, more than one per week. This fact in itself is a sign of vitality, an impressive manifestation of the will to create. This will is not however, unfortunately, validated in all cases by a true creative power and by the necessary artistic awareness.

How many of the titles published last year deserve to be read? Fewer, in any case, than the fingers on one hand. This number is not to be looked down upon. Two or three good novels appearing in one year make for an entire literature in the course of a single shining effort. What is regretable, and even inadmissible, is that far too many mediocre works are also put on the market, constituting a true waste in its own right. There are authors who fill hundreds of pages with the most harmless banalities which tell in a diluted and silly manner of events that are totally lacking any sense or interest and which explain boringly some of the most commonplace daily situations without any attempt to show the significance of the situation, to shed light, particularly, upon the universal, to make sense out of the events, to communicate an idea or even to construct an acceptable story or to order the material in such a way so as to make the writing interesting. The publishing houses probably accept such compositions on the word that the authors' material comes from an important sector of work. But, this is not a good argument. Using this as a rule of thumb, there could be published (in the press) any type of report that was superficial, dull or unreadable only because they relate to the state of work in factories, mines or work sites. Not only does literature not grow by publishing mediocre novels, having nothing better to show than those of the 1950's -- over which a well-deserved tombstone was long ago erected, but it takes on a ballast that can become suffocating.

In poetry, there are again visible effects of a decrease in editorial requirements for quality. At one time nearly eliminated and eclipsed, the sorry poet who will compose anything upon any given theme has once

again made his appearance. If, 25 or 30 years ago, the publication of certain pseudopoetry for their own good intentions could be, up to a point, reduced, then, today, when poetry of a citizenly, political and patriotic nature of a verified authenticity is being written, it is nonsense to encourage writings which are nothing more than banalities and which compromise the great themes and give the unwarned reader a deformed picture of today's Romanian lyrical writings.

These things, we hope, will be discussed at the upcoming National Writers Congress with the proper seriousness in order to ensure the most appropriate climate for the expansion of authentic creative writing and the impetuous progress of literature that is designed to express in true art form the contemporary concerns and ideals guided by the principles of revolutionary humanism.

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ROMANIA

COMPREHENSIVE BOOK ON RELIGION ATTACKED BY REVIEWERS

Petru Berar Review

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE in Romanian No 1, Jan-Feb 77 pp 85-94

[Review by Petru Berar of the book "Drama Religioasa a Omului" by Alexandru Babes. Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1975, 464 pages]

Text It is a mere banality to say that religion in its elementary forms is one of the earliest phenomena of human existence. In other words religion is a phenomenon with an age-old history that interacts in the most diverse ways with most of the manifestations of man as an individual and a community. But however commonplace such a statement is, quite within the range of common sense, the consequences flowing from the overwhelming scope of this history are equally numerous, varied and complex. And one of these consequences, which acts as a basic requirement for the present researcher, is the need of theoretical definition in view of the no less real and overwhelming labyrinth of ideas about religion. Actually, who dares believe today that he can formulate an original and logically consistent conception of religion without considering what has been said about religion and its nature throughout history? It seems that the price of originality here is far higher than in other fields of theoretical thought. This explains the existence of the equally real risk of regarding merely apparent originality as authentic, which is natural if we do not reduce the originality to the empty proportions of a ridiculous thought but identify it with the real value of the ideas expressed.

Apparently such thoughts are gradually concerning, in the most persistent way, all informed readers of Alexandru Babes' work "The Religious Drama of Man." A constant thrust toward originality permeates these pages which, as a matter of fact, are deliberately presented as the first synthesis of the religious phenomenon attempted in Romanian Marxist literature, treated from its origins up to the 16th century, wherein the Reformation in European spiritual life took place.

And yet, in a strange contradiction with this constant aspiration to originality and creative science, we feel that "The Religious Drama of Man" is subject to fundamental critical objections upon any analysis that is not confined to complaisance and does not enthuse over any kind of originality at any price.

Eclecticism can take various forms in a philosophical work, since its proportions also vary, but in the last analysis it seems that in order to judge the weaknesses of this theoretical thinking, with direct references to a given work, one must determine the particular individual nature of the eclecticism encountered and its distinctive features. And, viewed in this light, what is the position of "The Religious Drama of Man?" The peculiar nature of the eclecticism that determines the content of this work primarily consists of a *sui generis* theoretical enthusiasm, leading us to believe that we have to deal with the perfection of enthusiastic eclecticism. An enthusiasm ready at any time to replace exact scientific information, which is not readily available to it, with an evasive poetic expression designed to convey to the reader the illusion of a profound theoretical purport tends to and even partially succeeds in disguising the devices, primitive at that, for assembling the various fragments of ideas, concepts, theories and systems of thought into a uniform and homogenous whole that is impossible to achieve. But we think this eclecticism is primarily characterized by its particular capacity to contaminate even the simplest ideas with which it operates. So that these ideas can be assembled, they are distorted and vulgarized to such an extent that only a careful dissection could determine with any probability whence they could have been taken and by what successive processing they became such an "original" or in other words deceptive synthesis.

We intend here to illustrate this kind of eclecticism in "The Religious Drama of Man" and to demonstrate the weakness of this theoretical approach to religion. To this end, among the many, very many debatable points in this book we shall analyze only two problems Alexandru Babes discusses, namely the philosophical interpretation of religion viewed as a drama of the human being and the place of the Reformation in the growth of European religious and secular culture.

The first of these problems gives rise to a question which, aside from the appearance of an irony, involves more profound ideas, namely why actually is it "the religious drama of man?"

Before considering the possible answers to this question, let us anticipate what will become a distinctive characteristic of the approach of this book as it goes on. From the beginning and throughout his whole voluminous work, as he advances the concept of "the religious drama of man" Alexandru Babes will very cleverly avoid categorically deciding whether this conception of religion is the result of his own observations and original deductions or whether it is the conclusion he thinks he can draw from the general or partial history of the philosophical conceptions of religion. The religious drama exists for man purely and simply as the Idea existed for Hegel (forgive us the comparison!). With the aplomb of a creator of philosophical systems, Babes parades from his first pages concepts upon concepts with subjective meanings (whether he took them from other thinkers or whether they are his own original ideas) without recognizing the slightest obligation to justify with coherent theoretical arguments the choice made among a series of existing or possible meanings. But let us be more explicit. For example, in his system of religious philosophy the author emphasizes the concept of "man's religious self-alienation," which appears to be somehow equivalent to that of the "religious drama," but he never states the relationship between his ideas, in this respect, and those of some illustrious predecessors such as Hegel, Marx, Feuerbach et al., despite the fact that it is a relationship with theoretical implications that exist whether he likes it or not. As

another example, let us note that only a few pages (pp 29-32) are devoted to original but inadequately supported or completely unsupported variants of such concepts essential in supporting the main ideas of the book as "universal order," "absolute existence," "natural order," "cultural order" (which in turn subordinates the categories of "systems," "types," and "forms" of "cultural order"), etc. To be sure the references to predecessors are not entirely lacking this time, but perhaps the way they are made is the most graphic example. In speaking at one point of the "cultural order" the author says, "As Lucian Blaga said from the standpoint of abyssal psychology, a new order in the universe appears with the 'full' man. We accept the idea, but we reject the abyssal view in favor of the materialist one." (p 29) But the theoretical inadequacy of this strange reason is apparent not only because Babes arbitrarily took only what he wanted and understood from the page quoted from Blaga (in fact he took nothing!) and not what that thinker considered definitive and essential to the problem from his point of view. We consider it particularly illuminating as an elementary theoretical observation that even when Blaga was theorizing on the creative cultural role of the "Unconscious" he did not do so from the position of an abyssal psychology but from the hypotheses of a possible abyssal, idealistic philosophy to be sure. The actual quotation, which Babes abridged, is as follows: "A new order in the universe appears with the 'full' man, a new horizon and a new destiny, as well as some quite distinct metaphysical finalisms that are secret and have not existed before." ("Trilogy of Values," 1946, p 550)

But let us return to the main idea of the work, "the religious drama of man," and let us accept for the time being that it "actually arose along with magic," (p 54) and "the historical epilogue of the religious drama of man" was for Europe "Reformation in general and protestantism in particular." (p 428) Unquestionably these historical qualifications (which as we shall see are never explained or convincingly demonstrated) arouse even more curiosity as to what this "religious drama of man" actually is. But if we say that this central idea of the work, according to its very title, is only a most confused and undetermined notion we do not do so for the sake of a gratuitous paradox. That is the very fact, and we think examination of the determinations the author considers essential to the concept will prove this very point.

Actually what is religion as a drama of mankind? The Foreword as well as other pages imply, as we said, that the main purpose of this drama is to make religion a particular form of alienation of human nature. But if so, would it not have been logical for the author to define clearly and from the start the theoretical interpretations that he attaches to this philosophical view of religion? Should not the author have frankly discussed his references to the theoretical sources that he used or tried to use instead of presenting a theoretical surrogate with elements filched from Hegel, Feuerbach or Marx as a youth? Or then, instead of claiming (with "modesty"!) that his work "...has no ambitions but to offer a possible view of the subject from the standpoint of a philosophy of the culture based upon the principles of dialectical and historical materialism." (p 6) As far as we are concerned, we think it would have been more natural and perhaps more useful. On the other hand the author accordingly concludes nothing more or less than "Religion, institutionalized or not, is man's cry of pain, his cry for the good, the just, the beautiful and the true." (p 22) Or elsewhere, "Every religion is a point in the drama of man determined to find himself

and determine his place in the universe, but a point at which the elements of the real world appear upset." (p 24) And finally, on the basis of the awful finding that "The history of humanity is merely man's effort to define himself and to determine the human identity as accurately as he can," (p 37) the book formulates one more revelation: "The drama of man begins with the somewhat vague sense of his own personality, along with the somewhat vague realization that there are a number of similarities between him and the surrounding world, but primarily essential differences, so that these differences cannot be adequately represented for a long time and this essence will not be correctly understood for an even longer time." (p 36) This last quotation, which actually includes ideas also unsupported by anyone before (and we hope they will not be taken up by anyone again!), may smack vaguely of Hegelian idealism, but it is too vulgarized to merit mentioning the name of the great dialectician. But we shall not be at all surprised at the nature of the more or less classical and also more or less purposeful philosophical infiltrations in Babes's system of thought, as soon as we become acquainted with his conceptions of the very history of the development of the concept of religion, in connection with which he states, "The determination of the epistemological, social-historical and psychological roots of the religious phenomenon will be started, on the ground of the modern sciences that had just appeared, by the French thinkers of the period of the Enlightenment (the 17th and 18th centuries), developed by the German philosophers of the 19th century (the 'young Hegelians'), and completed by the classics of dialectical and historical materialism." (p 18) Among the vagaries of these statements, on which we shall not comment for lack of space, let us note that according to Babes the French Enlightenment is characteristic of both 18th and 17th century thought, the names of the traditional representatives of German philosophy (Kant, Hegel etc.) merit no attention while the "young Hegelians" are the most important, and as for Marx and Engels, they merely "completed" that "determination of the epistemological, social-historical and psychological roots of the religious phenomenon" begun by the representatives of the French Enlightenment "on the ground of the modern sciences." And since the reader might think (Errare humanum est!) these historical-philosophical conclusions are fortuitous, let us consider some generalizations of the same kind: "Religious criticism, long absorbed in proving the facts (the contradictions in the Bible) as in Voltaire's case for example and in demonstrating that the facts in the Old and New Testament are not historical, did not sufficiently bring out the stages of abstracting and theologizing the figure of Jehovah. To be sure before the triumph of rationalist philosophy in general, which brought about the separation of the church from the state, and of dialectical and historical materialist philosophy in particular, a theoretical but more of a practical triumph, neither could very much be done nor was it done." (p 165) That is where eclectic enthusiasm can lead! Voltaire, poor fellow, as well as the preceding philological critics of the scriptures in the 17th century, tried to prove the "facts" available to anyone. Demonstrating that the facts of the Old and New Testaments are not historical is something like investigating fairy tales, the author probably forgetting for the moment that the "young Hegelians'" main contribution was in this very direction. For the author, only "the stages of abstracting and theologizing the figure of Jehovah" are essential, and it seems they could be explained without the contribution of the history of religion and without critical analysis of the "sacred" books. Then let us note that the contribution of rationalist philosophy, materialist philosophy and consequently of

dialectical and historical materialism is a "theoretical but more of a practical triumph. What is this "triumph" and what is its content of ideas?

There is no question that this philosophical nonsense, presented so ostentatiously and with so much eclectic enthusiasm, is due to insufficient and defective theoretical "digestion" of the referenced philosophical sources. But we must recognize that this verbiage is not only a naive game "in the philosophy of religion" but also involves confusions requiring every critical attention on the part of the serious investigator of the religious phenomenon. Let us discuss just one example taken from deplorably picturesque arabesques of Babes' thinking. As he says at the beginning of one paragraph in his work, "Religion can be (or should be) declared moral or immoral in two major instances." (p 64) And let us note how here too the superficial approach introduces an ambiguity from the start by positing the alternative (with no substantiation or justification) of the morality or immorality of a religion. Moreover the ambiguity is increased by the equally doubtful distinction between "can be" and "or should be." What is the next sentence? "The first instance (and this usually occurs!) is that of religion itself, in which every persuasion declares the others immoral!" (p 64) But considering only this "first instance," inferior however in the author's hierarchy, what is the point of the suggested hesitation between the two terms of the strange alternative? That is, between the religion that can or should be declared moral and the one that can or should be declared immoral? Could the simple fact, admitted and cited as an example by the author himself, that every religion "usually" declares the others immoral be qualified other than negatively from the moral standpoint? And then what is the point here of the distinction between "can be" and "should be"? Let us say in passing that this reasoning by means of "or" is a frequent quirk of the author's thinking, sometimes with the most ridiculous results. Among the dozens of available examples, let us note that in the author's opinion "the existential crisis "... threw the first man, the man of primitive times, into an obscure (sic!) struggle, conscious or unconscious, voluntary or involuntary, to determine his place in the natural order of the universe." (p 36) But if the statement had been intended to mean "conscious and unconscious," it is quite ridiculous to maintain that the primitive man became a man by a "conscious or unconscious" struggle. Moreover if this struggle was "obscure" (Cf. Latin *tenebrosus!*), that alone indicates how "conscious" it is considered to have been, in this quotation. Apparently Babes cannot resist the temptation to reduce the philosophic approach to "obscure" plays on words.

But let us return to the two major "instances" of religion, since the author hastens to add, "The second instance where religion is to be considered moral or immoral is that structured by the concept of humanism." (p 65) Accordingly, we gather, in the second instance, that of the concept of humanism, religion not only can but even should be considered moral or immoral. In other words, the distinction between "can be" and "or should be" vanishes here. Now let us see how the author interprets the concept of humanism: "Specific-historical humanism is an integral part of the world's cultural order, on the level of social existentiality and social experience. It is to be defined as an attitude based upon the positive categories alone of social awareness, which regulate the human individual's group life (the good, the true, the beautiful, justice, freedom etc.)... Humanism is... an attitude that sets the standards for the type

of human ideal of every era, every ethnos, and every people. In its turn the type of human ideal, as the particularly human expression of the direction of history, is always on the line and in the lead of social progress, so that if you relate to the type of human ideal of an era and to the humanism of that era, you relate to the direction of history and to progress." (pp 65-66)

Let us concede that we quite approve of the ideas about humanism in this quotation. Aside from their stilted expression, these ideas can find ready acceptance anywhere. But now that we have discovered the meaning of the concept of humanism, let us see what Babes concludes about the confrontation between religion and humanism and what the content is of the so-called "second instance": "And finally, the antithesis of humanism as an attitude in the cultural order recommended by a given religion and pure and simple 'profane' humanism, in the stated sense, demonstrates the morality or immorality and the humanity or inhumanity of that religion." (p 66)

Here you have led us, with enthusiasm, to the brink of the worst confusion! After the concept of humanism was qualified in terms of a strict moral and social-political exclusivism whereby humanism is identified (it and it alone!) with the trends of social progress and the direction of history, we are amazed to find that this humanism can also belong to religion, so that there is no single, homogeneous humanism but at least two of them, one religious and the other profane, and the former is the "antithesis" of the latter. But if religion itself is or can become humanism it means among other things, to follow Babes' logic, that religion can actually take the form of its own "instance." But the same "logic" proceeds with enthusiasm so far that it actually defeats the very reasoning in the above quotation. If there is an authentic humanism, in the sense defined in the work itself, which can belong to religion and there is also an authentic humanism which however is profane this time, why assume the existence of an "antithesis" between these humanisms? And finally, when the need of the "antithesis" is gone, how shall we determine the criteria for the "humanity or inhumanity" of a given religion?

These philosophical acrobatics clearly violate the principles of the scientific approach.

So far we have taken most of the general considerations on religion from the introductory chapter of the book, and someone might wonder why we have not looked for such conclusive opinions in the final chapter. The answer is simple: There is no such chapter. To be original again the author "found it more useful and more stylistically appropriate" to transform the final chapter into an introductory chapter. But to our surprise and with no explanation, at the foot of pp 311-313 we found another exposition, summary and cursory this time, of the same theoretical problems of religion. But it is a summary that could only bear the stamp of Babes' original thinking. In this new version the religious drama still persists and has not disappeared along with the Reformation, but the author avoids further consideration of religion as a "drama." This time the religious man is called "the traditionalist," and we are told the following about his destiny: "Sooner or later the "traditionalist" man will undoubtedly succeed in accurately and scientifically distinguishing his real history from his fictitious one and in distinguishing specific-historical life from specific-historical religion. But he needs will and culture for this, or conversely culture

and will." (p 313) To employ the author's favorite style, it could be said that these sentences lack both clarity and idea content, and conversely both idea content and clarity!

Enthusiastic eclecticism, which shuns pedantic erudition in favor of a so-called pure and detached passion but which is actually devoid of any clear or serious motivation, confronts us in spectacular forms throughout this work, but we shall discuss below the so-called "Book VI: The Reformers," the last "book" of the book. Let us begin with that section entitled, with a pomposity quite typical of the style of this work, "The Reformation as a Betrayal of Itself and as a Betrayal of Man." (pp 429-437) This double betrayal refers, as Babes intends, to Jean Calvin and the Calvinist direction of protestantism. Our incisive author begins by exclaiming, "Nowhere in 15th-16th century Europe did a social movement strip off its revolutionary mantle (sic!) so much in the sight of the world to assume the toga of denouncement as it did in Geneva." (p 429) With equally convincing explanations (but this time with an obviously pained clarity) he then concludes that "The Calvinist reform expressed the self-betrayal of the Reformation as an inevitable result of the betrayal of man." (p 433) As for the basic writing of the famous religious reformer, "Institutio Religionis Christianae," we learn from the same source that it is "one of the most important works the Reformation left and even, from a certain viewpoint, the most important: In this work the living spirit of the Reformation perishes, dies and ends. Calvin's theoretical work was the grave of the Reformation." (pp 430-431)

Is it an overdeveloped antireligious spirit that explains this vehement anti-calvinist attitude of Babes'? Apparently not, especially if we check his comparison of the two leaders of the Reformation, Luther and Calvin: "As I followed Calvin's activity I was dumbfounded by the awful calm and ferocious tenacity with which he restored the Middle Ages (sic!), suppressing the spiritual resources of a society that could, at another time, produce a Jean-Jacques Rousseau. And it is astonishing to see how two men appear in the same century and decade one of whom, Luther, represents the passionate enthusiasm and heroic exaltation of a movement, while the other represents the distressing error and the Philistine collapse of the same movement, namely Calvin. It has been said that Jean Calvin finished what Luther began, the Reformation, or more clearly, Calvin buried what Luther discovered: the Reformation." (p 429)

These are certainly some unusual conclusions. And actually on what basis did Babes formulate them? But before trying to answer this question, let us note that our intrepid author did not overlook the fact that Rousseau was also born in Geneva, even though it was two centuries later and there is no necessary connection between the ideas discussed in this passage by Babes and the birth of the said illustrious thinker, with the possible exception of the fact that his parents were adherents of the Calvinist "heresy"! Since nearly four of the eight pages of the section under discussion describe the burning of Servetus at the stake, it would seem that this is the main charge against Calvin in addition, of course, to the strict, ascetic and fanatical social order that the relentless religious reformer imposed upon the Genevans. But in the last analysis it is not essential what the originality of Babes' opinions on the Reformation in general and Calvinism in particular amounts to, but rather how this problem has been and is discussed and clarified in the light of disciplines such as

history, the history of philosophy, sociology etc. For actually the study of the Reformation does not begin in the pages of "The Religious Drama of Man." And the pompous originality of Babes' opinions is based partly on neglect or defiance of historical or other truth and partly on formulation of the discussion on the level of the ordinary, unscientific mentality, wherein the content is distorted even of the few references in the book to ideas with demonstrated scientific authority. Note for instance that the foregoing quotation ends with a glaring falsification of ideas. Actually the traditional and familiar assertion that Calvin finished what Luther began does not mean that Calvin put the Reformation in the grave, but more clearly and simply that he tried to proceed more consistently and more radically than his German colleague in the direction of the religious principles of the Reformation.

Of course we are not attempting a full scientific discussion of the Reformation here and now, but the flaws in the reasoning of the above quotations are clear enough. For instance the author constantly reverts to the "stains" in Calvin's biography but he completely forgets the "stains" in the other religious reformer's biography. For example he forgets Luther's role in the suppression of the German Peasants' War, when he openly advised his miser overlords to kill insurgents by any possible means. And in bringing up this painful episode in Luther's ideological activity we by no means do so to incline the balance of evils against him and accordingly lessen the guilt of Calvin. The erroneous opinions on the Reformation in "The Religious Drama of Man" are not confined to the historical facts (although it abounds in inaccuracies and distortions of this kind) but are reflected primarily in the general approach to the problem under discussion. We do not think we are far wrong in saying that nearly every time Babes fails to see anything in a religious problem other than a religious problem, even if and even when his theoretical inclination is to be critical of religion. How else to explain the naivete of comparing Lutheranism and Calvinism on ideological grounds (to return to the foregoing example) by taking only the two reformers' biographies as points of reference?

"Man," whose "betrayal" was the Reformation (as it is maintained in this book so given to dramas, betrayals, darkness etc.) is actually only an inoperative abstract idea unless the ideological characteristics of religion in general and the Reformation in particular are taken into consideration. With a remarkable flexibility throughout history, religion in its ideological capacity has expressed the surrounding social conditions and the historically determined class interests, usually in disguised form. And observation and interpretation of this point would have been particularly necessary because the subject of the analysis was the very era in which "... all the attacks upon feudalism in general and upon the church in particular, as well as all the social and political revolutionary doctrines, had to be simultaneously and primarily theological heresies. In order to attack the existing social relations, it was necessary to divest them of their sacred aura." (Marx, Engels, and Lenin, "On Religion," Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1974, p 269)

While Babes, by virtue of his ingenuous judgment of history, is still quite "dumbfounded" by the way Calvin restored "the Middle Ages" and transformed his theoretical work into "the grave of the Reformation," other thinkers before our author (in fact the vast majority of them!) ventured somewhat further to reach

exactly contrary conclusions. In view of the clarity with which the ideas are expressed, let us quote for example some of Engels' conclusions on the same subject (conclusions which are in fact shared by many other, nonmarxist thinkers): "The French Calvin arose alongside the German Luther. With typically French clarity Calvin emphasized the bourgeois nature of the Reformation and republicanized and democratized the church. While Luther's Reformation degenerated and drove Germany to ruin, Calvin's served as a banner of the Geneva republicans in Holland and Scotland, freed Holland from the domination of Spain and the German Empire, and provided the ideological background for the second act of the bourgeois revolution, which took place in England. Here Calvinism asserted itself as a true religious disguise of the bourgeois interests of the time..." ("Marx, Engels and Lenin - On Religion," p 396)

It would require too many references to authors (who have become classics) who have treated the Reformation if I tried even only briefly to summarize the opinions that all blatantly contradict Babes' conception of Calvinism as a "betrayal" of the Reformation and a relapse into feudalism. But in view of its still unquestioned scientific recognition and the reknown of its author, let us mention in passing that Max Weber's work "Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism" (published in 1904-1905) maintains that the ethos of the capitalist economy must be causally related to the doctrine of Calvinist ethics, much more radical than the Lutheran one. The discussions this theory provoked among philosophers, sociologists, historians and theologians are still going on. We are primarily concerned here with the vast theoretical proportions of the possible scientific discussions of protestant ethics and their social-historical implications, proportions discouragingly absent from the pages of "The Religious Drama of Man." It is well known, for example, that the positions of protestant ethics on the sources of the state of grace were pushed much farther by Calvin than by Luther and that while the latter remained particularly attached, in this case, to the hypostasis of the good and forgiving divinity characteristic of the New Testament, the former adopted the fearful "Deus absconditus" of the Old Testament, favoring the idea of a divine power absolutely transcending human life. And while for Babes history is quite simplified and research is confined to the simple designation of the Calvinist ethic as the "grave" of the Reformation, for Max Weber (who called the logic of the doctrine of predestination, this belief in the determination of human destiny for eternity, a "pathetic inhumanity") the problems requiring the attention of the sociologist, the historian and the philosopher do not arise and become complicated until we leave the ground of theology and analyze the confrontation of the protestant ethic with social activity. For contrary to the opinions in "The Religious Drama of Man," we must say that the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, pessimistic as it is as to the relationship between man and his destiny, by no means caused the stagnation and paralysis of practical social activity through its effect upon protestants' conduct, nor did it suppress "the spiritual resources of society." Though this doctrine nullified the human will vis-a-vis the divinity, it nevertheless became a powerful source of moral energy with a well-defined socioeconomic purpose. As we know Max Weber himself emphasized the Calvinist ethical-theological idea that it is in the success of his practical activity that man finds the proof of his eternal redemption, so that asceticism is harmoniously combined with practical success.

It was the practice of scientific research that went beyond the religious context in which the major problems of religion were discussed. We refer here to the history (secular) of religions, the philosophy, sociology and psychology of religion etc. And the very frequent neglect of this truth in "The Religious Drama of Man," as we have seen and shall see again, is reflected in quite reckless evaluations of social-political ideas, personalities or phenomena with historical roles in the spiritual development of Western Europe especially. To be sure, in discussing the Reformation the book does not entirely ignore the economic, social and political context of the events described or the entirety of scientific knowledge of the subject, but in both cases the specific references are cursory or downright erroneous. Without pointing out, for example, an essential aspect of the socioeconomic causes of the Reformation, namely that the feudal character of the church was one of the main obstacles to progress because of the importance of the church in social activity and its opposition to any changes, Babes apparently considers quite another aspect essential: "It should be said that the development of the cities' prosperity that marked the beginnings of modern European society was due to some extent (so far insufficiently noted) to religion and the Christian Church itself, especially in the West. That is, it offered the crusaders, as they offered it, an opportunity for invasion and plunder (foreshadowing the invasion and plunder of America) and it also stimulated the development of the arts and trades, first by requiring the construction of so many religious buildings (especially cathedrals) and then by initiating and organizing so many crusades and wars against the pagan Arabs (Moors, Saracens) and later the Ottoman Turks..." (p 405) Of course no one denies that the crusades contributed, among other things, to closer contacts between the West and the East and to the development of the cities, the trades and commerce. But it is such a long way from here to the contention (and that too in connection with the socioeconomic causes of the Reformation!) that "the development of the cities' prosperity" in the medieval period was due to "religion and the Christian Church itself, especially in the West" (even with the added qualification "to some extent"!) that it is hard to believe that it can be taken by any serious historian. And finally was it not primarily the secular power of the Roman Catholic Church and its subtle actions of regular robbery of all social strata that brought on the anticlerical movements?

The fact that "The Religious Drama of Man" does not regularly observe, in the form of conclusions drawn from any methodological standpoint, the disguise of the secular world in the content of religion as a constant of human history leads its author to narrow the significance of the Reformation as a social-historical phenomenon. But the neglect or even distortion of the complex causes of this very historic event (economic, social, political, moral and intellectual causes) along with the vulgarization of the protestant ideology are largely understandable in the case of this book when we realize that the Reformation (in both origins and content) appears in its pages solely as a religious phenomenon. And without denying the religious character of the Reformation, the researcher must not stop there. As Andrei Otetea rightly remarked, "The profound causes of the Reformation ... are to be sought in the contradictions between the sovereignty of the modern state and the church's claims to universal authority, between the aspirations of the new classes, the bourgeoisie especially, and the economic, social and political privileges of the clergy, between the spirit of free investigation and the principle of authority represented by the

church, and between the new conception of nature and man and medieval humanism and asceticism." ("The Renaissance and the Reformation," Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1968, p 249)

The inability to see beyond a naively enthusiastic eclectic view of nature in judging the evolution of the religious phenomenon appears in highly picturesque forms, especially in the book's few general conclusions about protestantism.

Here is the first of these conclusions: "The Reformation in general and protestantism in particular succumbed of themselves, by renouncing what was better in them and the very spirit with which they had won Western Europe at the start. In celebrating its victory protestantism was actually celebrating its demise, for when it gained the right to a legal existence in the various states, it became a church itself." (p 428) Let us realize that we are in the presence of a conclusion as original as it is strange and mysterious. It is difficult to find in the book what "succumbing" can be meant and what initially good spirit protestantism renounced. It is well known that the Reformation knew historical limits in all the countries in which it took place, but it is equally well known that the Renaissance and the Reformation greatly contributed to the birth of modern culture based upon freedom of thought and research and that protestantism itself promoted, for example, freedom of conscience and secularization of the state, also contributing to the development of the well-known principle of the autonomy of modern culture and civilization, etc. But these aspects (mystified and contradictory manifestations of the progress of the human spirit in general) are not "interesting" for the book under discussion and therefore do not interest its author, because here religion is viewed and analyzed in itself, as a problem of an abstract progress of the religious spirit. (In a draft of a new, unfinished version of the work "The German Peasants' War," it is Engels who notes concisely: "The character of the Reformation as the only possible popular expression of the general trends etc." K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1965, Vol 21, p 401). The assertion that protestantism died "because it became a church" is nothing but a superficial play on words, since it does not explain this distinction of the author's between a religion (as a phenomenon that is or can sometimes become even somewhat progressive) and a church (an always conservative phenomenon). We also find this distinction elsewhere in the book, but always equally ambiguous or even confused.

We find the same gratuitous play on words, mimicking matchless profundities of ideas, in the exposition of another general conclusion: "What did man receive from the Reformation in exchange for the revolt against the Catholic Church? The Reformed Church. What did man receive from protestantism as the price for his rebellion against the Catholic Church? The Protestant Church. The Reformation in general and protestantism in particular were the last great religious adventure in which a number of European peoples were engaged, and they were for Europe the historical epilogue of the religious drama of man. A final consideration will show that the Reformation tried to transform religion from a public question into a private question. But man was afraid to remain alone in the face of 16 to 17 centuries of Christianity and fled back to the warm shelter of the church, which he repainted, however, to create his illusion that it was new. Who was this man? The townsman, the bourgeois who, afraid that all

could obtain what he was loudly shouting (in the revolution) that he wanted to obtain, awoke in the night and told himself that he really wanted to make of religion a private matter, but in the bosom of the church. For if God also became a private matter, who would watch over private property? And next morning he went to church and confessed, betraying all his previous thoughts." (pp 428-429)

May the reader forgive us for the length of this quotation, but even in this book we rarely find such combinations of elementary confusion with banal rhetoric, devoid of any content of ideas. For example, what are the ideas in this passage? To begin with, we have the idea that the Reformation gave birth to the Protestant Church (an extraordinary scientific discovery?), and then the idea that the Reformation was "the historical epilogue of the religious drama of man." But this actually conveys nothing since the author does not tell us what he means by a "historical epilogue." Let us recall what meanings are given at the beginning of the book to the concept of "the religious drama of man" and then let us consider why the Reformation is the "historical epilogue" of this drama. Because the Reformation did away with man's religious self-alienation? It is hard to believe, and even Babes shrinks from saying such a thing. Meanwhile there is a play on words that will remain, it seems, an indecipherable secret forever. Then the "final consideration," to the effect that the Reformation tried (but apparently with no success!) "to transform religion from a public question into a private question," is also quite confused. What does the author mean by this sentence? Does he mean the relationship between the state and religion, in other words the principle of freedom of conscience, in the assertion of which protestantism played an important part? That is hard to believe, since this principle was based on the premise that religion is "a public question," a fact that also requires the acceptance of the citizens' freedom of conscience in modern society. Is the author referring to the interiorization of the content of religion, which is theoretically a contribution of protestantism and is related, in a way, to the individualism in bourgeois morality? The text is far from the areas of such meanings. Let us assume that the statement could refer to the trends in the structure of religious organization properly speaking, promoted by the various churches that trace their origins in one way or another to the Reformation. But how could we admit that the Protestant Church abandoned the principles and ideals of its earthly mission and deliberately tried to destroy itself, since what else would it mean to consider that religion was no longer "a public question"? Protestantism, whatever its theological persuasion, takes the form of a church and consequently a religious community, with many meanings, it is true, but not lacking any idea of openly asserting religion as "a public question." After all, the author should tell us what he means by the transformation of religion from a public question into a private question. How can we admit that the Reformation was trying to do this when we actually do not know what he is talking about?

Such theories, conclusions and assertions are characteristic of enthusiastic eclecticism, so successfully illustrated by the pages of the book. This kind of eclecticism is not only amateurish and based upon fragments of misunderstood ideas but also means to suggest and present a striking originality. But in the last analysis is Babes not taking advantage, even within the ordinary limits of eclecticism, of a very superficial theoretical illusionism?

Octavian Chetan Review

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[Review by Octavian Chetan of the Book "Drama Religiosa a Omului" by Alexandru Babes. Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House. 1975. 464 pages]

Text7 Babes' book is not one of the flat, awkward works that repel their readers as soon as they are opened. Written in a high style with an evident intellectual enthusiasm, it attracts the public and invites reading. Even the author's unabashed and deliberately presented conceit, his frequently peremptory tone, and the assurance of his explanations and conclusions all contribute to a favorable first impression and the interest of a wide circle of readers.

And yet the book is a failure of proportions rarely encountered in our technical literature. Beyond the skillful phrasing and the arrogance of the author, who does not hesitate to state that "The work comes to Romanian Marxist literature as the first synthesis attempted on the subject of the religious phenomenon considered from its origins almost to our times," the whole theoretical structure imagined by the author displays a flagrant lack of critical discrimination and sense of scientific investigation, a quite inadequate documentation mainly based upon theological writings and the letter of the Bible, ignorance of the present state of research in the fields approached, etc.

The work was preceded in the author's theoretical activity by two other writings of much more limited proportions, "The Genesis of the Gods" (1970) and "Saints, Myth, Legend and Truth" (1972) published in the "Horizons" collection of the same publishing house. They reappear here, amplified by new and greatly expanded chapters, but the theoretical approach and the method are the same.

A review, however brief, of the gaps in information, errors and confusions that abound in the book and a detailed description of the approach would require far too much space for the ordinary limits of one article. We shall note below only a few of the many we encountered in reading, but they are sufficient for an overall evaluation of the author's theoretical procedures.

### 1. The Approach to the Subject

- The whole book is characterized by the same approach: (a) preliminary formulation of definitions with a presumed general validity, and (b) their use as a single standard in the analysis and evaluation of all problems arising in the course of the investigation.

On the whole, two definitions constitute the entire theoretical substructure: namely those of religion and of legend. The definition of religion and some of its consequences will be discussed in the next section. It is rather the definition of legend that is fundamental for and overall view of the book, and it is reflected in every chapter or section. We shall give its general outline here and some of its applications, but we shall return to it later.

In defining legend Babes actually sets forth a whole theory succinctly in a few pages, a theory inspired without reservations by the well-known approach of many theologians who tried for over a century to reconcile the "letter" of the gospel with the evidence of history. For him the term legend covers, with no basic distinctions, a very broad area from historical legends to religious and liturgical legends (the term myth has allergic effects for the author, impeding his

effort, exerted over hundreds of pages, toward historical rehabilitation of the Old and New Testament stories). As for the relationship between scientific truth (called "episteme" by the author) and legend, Babes assures us that "It is not one of a contradictory nature but of a simple distinction." More accurately, he insists that "While the episteme is the adequate presentation of an aspect of a given reality, the legend is the transadequate presentation of the same aspect." (p 128) In the first case we have a "logical, rational expression" and in the second case "a metaphor" of the same fact in reality. Babes goes on to say, "Therefore the difference between scientific truth and legend is one of the human spirit's position in regard to objective reality. We have to do here with the spirit's two distinct methods of reflecting the same reality and not with two contradictory methods (one does not exclude the other)." (p 129) Therefore Christian dogma and religious ideology as a whole are not mutually exclusive with science but in harmony, supplementing each other! The author will insist upon this logical consequence of his position, well meriting the homage of the defenders of religion! But first he will formulate the following definition: "Legends are the cultural-plastic expression of the moral, legal, political and other attitudes of a given society, the expression of the anonymous spirit of the broadest masses, of a people vis-a-vis the persons, events and objects that have in one way or another affected the material and spiritual existence of that people." (p 129) Between the data of science and legend there is "a perfect identity of content and scope." This incorrect formulation claims, in fact, that both science and legends always envisage specific elements of life and history. The former presents them "exactly and objectively" and the latter in fictitious, unreal images converted to aspirations. "In other words, scientific truth presents a fact in reality as it is in reality... Legend presents the same fact in reality but not as it is in reality (or not as it was), but as it should be in reality..." (p 129) Note the constant repetition on every occasion of the point that both science and legends refer to real facts or rather the same real facts. In a plane projection, the author pictures science and legends "as two intersecting circles with a common area," namely the real fact. The conclusion necessarily follows that "Legends themselves have a minimum informational content that refers to a specific reality," (p 129) but this informational content does not involve states of mind, a mode of thought, any conception of the world etc. but facts and specific facts at that, namely persons and events, in other words a real history. And Babes warns us not to seek examples of legends "the content of which could not have been validated by science," because these are not "a sufficient reason for absolutely rejecting any informational value of these legends." (p 129) And he cites as an example the legend of Master Manole, in which Negru Voda has now been identified, he says, with Prince Neagoe Basarab, the founder of the Curtea de Arges Episcopal Church, while Manole himself "is about to acquire a specific-historical identity" (p 130) through the efforts of an archimandrite at the end of the last century!

And for the complete clarification of the reader, who may still hesitate to identify religious myths, historical legends and science, Babes says once again that "In the 'critical' approach to the problems of religion, often the mere existence of transadequate discourses is considered sufficient for the entire rejection of their content from the start... In a final analysis, a background is too rapidly rejected here on grounds of its form!" (p 130) The principle

is not new. It is part of the regular arsenal of the theologians. But the author's attempt to present it as a component part of a dialectical-materialist Marxist view of the religious phenomenon is quite original. Either the author's ideological confusion of these problems is unlimited, or he considers his readers far too naive! Religious ideologies are not "transadequate discourses," while their contrast with the scientific approach to reality is total and fundamental. We have to deal with a profoundly and irreconcilably contradictory relationship and not with mere differences in form.

But for Babes erasure of the distinctions between a historical legend and a biblical one and their equation with scientific truths, to the point of postulating an imaginary common background, are the bulwark of the whole theoretical structure. He purely and simply formulates this interpretation of the legend and then blandly uses it as an argument in evaluating the sacred stories of the religions to which he refers (chiefly the religion of the ancient Jews and Christianity, as reflected in the Bible). For example, the author assures us that "The researchers (which ones? -- our note) have determined that a number of biblical episodes (including that of Joseph and his brothers, the sons of Jacob) surely happened," (p 154) or he claims to reveal to us "a grain of truth" in the various fragments of the Christian myth. In Babes' opinion, every phase of the "sacred history" narrated in the Gospels hides real events clothed in a metaphorical or fantastic dress. This contention recurs, peremptorily asserted, in the chapters on the life of Jesus, where the author writes, with no specific reference, "Most observers of world culture and civilization agree that never and nowhere does a myth or legend arise from nothing in the minds of men, and it is not a 'process of ideological derivation,' a pure and absolute figment. A kernel of reason and a grain of truth are hidden behind any myth, even the most fantastic, that humanity has remembered. The whole difficulty lies in this 'are hidden.'" (p 191) By this "grain of truth" the author does not primarily mean states of mind but particularly real historical events. As Babes decrees from the pulpit, "The origin of the myths is induction augmented by free fantasy, that is elevation of the tangible, apprehended by sight, hearing, touch etc., to the levels of the imagination stimulated by good and bad material and spiritual living conditions, aspirations and needs." (p 192) I would ask the author what is "the tangible apprehended by sight, hearing, touch etc." or the "grain of truth" on which the biblical myth of the genesis is based, or the myth of original sin? What real historical events could be fantastically reflected in these myths? Meanwhile the legend in the New Testament about the slaughter, by order of Herod the Great, the king of Judaea, of the 14,000 children in the hope of also killing the infant Jesus is "explained" by this monarch's policy of Hellenizing the Hebrews. The author says he probably prohibited the circumcision of children and put to death the children whose parents did not submit to these royal commands. But we ask the author what historical documents bear out this "explanation"? Before awaiting a reply, we assure our readers that this is a purely speculative hypothesis essential to the defenders of the Christian dogmas. Babes also offers us an "explanation" of the same kind in connection with the myth of Christ's resurrection. Ignoring the comparative analysis of this myth, found in most mystic religions and especially in myths about gods of vegetation, the author tries to convince us that the myth of the resurrection can have a "grain of truth": "From John's and Luke's (not even all theologians attribute the respective Gospels to these presumptive personages -- our note)

accounts of the death, burial and 'resurrection' of Jesus... it could be deduced that Jesus could have been lowered from the cross before he died. It would be the only reasonable explanation of his reappearances, if the idea of these reappearances is accepted." The reader is also "invited to consider" seven "particulars collected from the New Testament." (p 317) Once again, speculation and the letter of the Scriptures. These are the arguments on which the whole book is based! Moreover defense of the Bible's prestige is one of its declared aims! In reference to the writings of the New Testament, Babes flatly states, "Therefore these lines will at least be an invitation to moderation in evaluating these writings." (p. 193)

From such theoretical and ideological positions, which only by a euphemism can be regarded as dominated by confusion and conceited dilettantism, it is not strange that the author discovers his adversary in the Romanian atheism of the last few decades. Throughout the book there is not one author, theologian or lay, who is not sharply criticized regardless of his general orientation, as Babes proceeds with "the newer tradition" in "the Romanian atheistic approach." (p 71) But we are not reproaching him here for his exacting critical spirit. That is always welcome and personally I promote at every opportunity. But we reject the "general way" in which the criticism is made by the author, without the slightest specification (of titles, authors etc.) and the lack of substantiation for his critical comments. Which are the authors and works wherein "Descriptive judgment borders on evasion of analytical judgment," and which are subject to "borrowings from vulgarizing atheism"? What does Babes mean by "vulgarizing atheism"? What works published in Romania in the last decades contain "the 'scientific' prejudice... that any mythology is entirely religious and is religion"? (p 71) What author "identifies any myth with a divinity"? Who are the ones called "some atheists" in Romania who display "the lack of a necessary precision in handling the pantheons" and come to identify "anthropomorphism with religion"? Although I very carefully follow theoretical activity in the field of atheism in Romania, I do not know a single author or work that has ever asserted the religious nature of all myths or has identified anthropomorphism with religion!

The fact should not surprise us here that the book contains a number of insinuations, attacks and derogatory remarks on the subject of the French Enlightenment and rationalism. We shall comment on one of them. According to Babes the fact that "a number of scholars" consider the evidence on Jesus in Tacitus, Suetonius et al. to be "confused or suspect" is due to the bad influence of the Enlightenment and rationalist movement, which in its quarrel with religion overdid the attack: "...it is possible that in these considerations they are taking advantage of the critical attitude formed in the 17th and 18th centuries and especially the 19th, when the Enlightenment and rationalism in general finally had the opportunity to pay back an old debt to theology and irrationalism. The attitude, subordinated to the program of the bourgeois revolution due to the specific-historical circumstances wherein it was formed, does not exonerate those who adopted it on the supposition that they could overdo the means of attack in order to obtain the long-desired victory (revenge)... This supposition was the more justified because it was not forgotten that the attitude in question... appeared in France." (p 185) At the end of this plea the author demands (on grounds of these "suppositions") revision of the critical attitude toward the

respective interpolations in the old texts: "Consequently this attitude should be at least revised today. In any case it belongs to the 18th century and reflects it, and it cannot be accepted either as the last or the only one if historical materialism tolerates another." (p 185). The author's arguments are awkward. Naturally historical materialism "tolerates" another attitude toward the works of the ancient authors. Moreover the criticism of the "sacred" Christian texts that revealed these interpolations had nothing in common with historical materialism. The authenticity of the texts in question cannot be supported by defaming the Enlightenment movement and stating possible affiliations with it. But we shall return to this question in another section.

As was to be expected, the author finds real support for his theoretical position in the writings of the theologians. Hence his protective attitude toward "the theological scholars," for whom he requests "a change of attitude on the part of some." (p 185) And Babes fulminates against those who ever imagined that theologians are any ignoramuses and failed to realize that there are many learned men in their profession here and abroad. The indignation is clearly gratuitous, since no one denies the presence of exceptional minds in the field of theology as in any other field of human activity. But the author's outburst is intended to justify the massive presence of theological writings in the bibliography of the book. His conclusion is supersaturated with confusion: "Erroneous, theological-apologetic interpretation of history or a historical fact does not negate history or its facts but only falsifies them in regard to their determinations and meanings but not in regard to their existence." (p 186) In other words, all events reported in the theologians' writings have the endorsement of science and pertain to the respective theologian's scientific education, but their interpretation is to be criticized and replaced by a nontheological interpretation. Apparently the author is right, but only apparently. Actually the Old and New Testament events that the theologians, by their very status, have to accept as such and comment upon in their works have a troubled history. The biblical texts (the only sources for nearly all the events they report) are a fabric of legends orally transmitted for a long time and then fixed in writing, but copied and recopied, augmented and modified, some for hundreds and hundreds of years, so that declaration of the real historical fact contained in some of them is a difficult operation that cannot be undertaken within Christianity, since they are officially decreed to be "canonical" and inspired by God, a result of revelations! Theological erudition is not synonymous with scientific erudition, and to accept as real all the events described in the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles (to confine ourselves to the New Testament) merely because we also find them in the works of the great theologians is to completely abandon the paths of science.

But as we noted above, a large part of the book's basic bibliography, on the history of Christianity especially, is theological: several "Apologetics," "Histories of the Church," and "Histories of Religions" written by Romanian or foreign theologians comprise the main "scientific" endowment of the book.

Only once does the author's critical spirit fall harshly upon the theologians, but by chance (or more accurately, lack of elementary knowledge of the respective problem) even in this exception to the general orientation of the book the author's criticisms are entirely unfounded. It is a matter of the texts in

the Coptic language discovered in Egypt in the Nag-Hammadi area near the ancient settlement of Khenoboskion in 1945, including the widely discussed "Gospel According to Thomas." According to "information" of which we do not know the source, Babes maintains that "Examined by theologians... the manuscripts were regarded as 'uninteresting' for the study of Judaeo-Christian origins. Consequently they remained unknown to the wide world of Christians for 30 years. In 1974 a few sets of facsimiles of the Gospel in question were published under the auspices of UNESCO and the Department of Antiquities of Egypt." (p 210) These were studied and published in a work entitled "L'Evangile selon Thomas" (Ed. Metanoia, Marsanne, Drome) by a Frenchman, Philippe de Suarez, after he learned Coptic. Actually the situation is quite different. Before they came into the hands of the experts, the 13 discovered codices went through a series of adventures with which the theologians had nothing whatever to do. Now 12 codices are kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, part of one codex was purchased by the Jung Institute in Zurich, and the rest of its pages are in the Coptic Museum. As for the publication of these manuscripts, especially the "Gospel According to Thomas," considered the most valuable text among the 44 different works comprised in the 13 codices, "the wide world of Christians" did not have to wait 30 years to see "a few sets of facsimiles" of this Gospel published. This Coptic text was first published in a phototype edition in Cairo in 1956 (accordingly 11 years later) by Pahor Labib. Then it was republished in Paris in 1959, with a French translation, by A. Guillaumont, followed by numerous commentaries in the protestant journals especially. And finally it was translated into Latin, German and English by Canon Garitte in Louvain, Prof E. Haenschen in Muenster and Prof Bruce M. Metzger in Princeton. All three translations are included in the supplement to "Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum," published by Kurt Aland in Stuttgart in 1963 and republished in 1967. Among the extensive exegetical studies we note those of J. Doresse (1958, 1959), A. S. Puech, Robert M. Grant and David Noel Freedman (1960), and R. McWilson (1960).

I have dwelt upon this situation in order to illustrate, in a particular case, the precarious nature of the author's documentation and to add one more element to the general picture of his working methods.

## 2. History and Religion

In the first part of his work Babes sets forth his view of the origin and evolution of religion in the history of mankind. Here again the pursuit of originality at any price is combined with an equally consistent dilletantism. Starting with Engels' well-known characterization of religion, Babes modifies it here and there in its essential parts and formulates a much narrower definition, which he will apply to the realities of spiritual life like a grid, purely and simply denying analyses and conclusions long studied by investigators of the religious phenomenon. The author writes, "In other words, religion in the widest sense means belief in the existence of 'something' (anything) higher than the earthly world and outside it, but omnipresent ('real' or 'virtual') and able to affect in one way or another (good or bad) the fate and life of man, and consequently man, considering himself connected in one way or another with this supernatural 'presence' makes a number of efforts to obtain the good will of this 'something' (anything) more powerful than he, before which he feels powerless and disarmed from the start." (pp 44-45) Let us recall that Engels referred to "the

fantastic reflection in the minds of men of the external forces that dominate their everyday lives, a reflection wherein the earthly forces take the form of superearthly forces. At the dawn of history, the first forces that are the subject of this reflection are those of nature, which in the course of subsequent development take the most varied and variegated personified forms among various peoples... But alongside the natural forces social forces soon begin to act too, and they are equally strange to men and appear equally inexplicable at the start, dominating them apparently with the same natural necessity as the forces of nature themselves." ("Marx, Engels and Lenin on Religion," Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1974, p 307)

Note that Engels speaks of "earthly forces" that take the form of "superearthly forces." Babes "supplements" this characterization by introducing the "detail" that these forces "higher than the earthly world" are placed outside it, which corresponds to a more advanced stage of religious beliefs. And while Engels speaks of the fact that these forces "dominate" the everyday life of man, Babes introduces the "detail" that man feels "powerless" before these forces, that is incapable of action of his own, which is also not necessarily implied in the concept of dominant forces.

These two "supplements" to Engels' characterization permit the author to exclude from the ranks of religions all the forms of religion peculiar to primitive societies. According to Babes, religion appears only with a slave-holding society: "... There is no 'form' of religion, as something formless that is hostile to him, for the tribal system." (p 45) In this view, totemism and animism contain only the seeds of religious awareness, the prefigurations of religion. Refusing to see in these primary forms of religion the beginnings of man's self-alienation, Babes considers totemism, on the contrary, "the first expression of human society's self-awareness as a society" (p 49) and animism "man's first decision about the condition of the surrounding physical world" (p 51) and "a part of the 'natural sciences' in the time of the tribes." (p 52) Alienation would be only passive in the case of totemism because man's "fictitious hypostasis" does not turn against him with hostility or take forms of absolute domination." Such conclusions overlook essential aspects of the totemic and animistic beliefs as well as the severe restriction that the totemic regulations, for example, introduce into the respective community, and the very severe sanctions for those who violate them (the "hostility" with which the "fictitious hypostasis" of man turns against him).

But the author likes spectacular reverses, without concerning himself very much about basing them on scientific data. The game continues with the characterization of magic. Ignoring many basic traits which make of magic the form of religion that reserves for man the most active role in an imaginary influencing and direction of the supernatural forces that rule the destinies of the individual and the community to which he belongs, Babes pictures magic as "a mode... of mysticism," as the factor that brings about the transition, the transformation of the seeds of religion into religion properly speaking. The religious drama of man was born along with magic (?). (p 54) And since the process must end with the appearance of religion the author declares fetishism to be "the transitional religious form, characteristic of the period of transition from the primitive to the slave-holding system" (p 67) and "the almost complete form

of religion.\* (p 68) These distinctions among the primary forms of religion have no basis except in their author's "constructive" imagination. The field studies in ethnography and cultural anthropology offer no grounds for them. Fetishism, for example, is a series of religious beliefs and practices attributing supernatural powers to objects (fetishes) supposedly containing spirits. It has nothing in common with the belief in "imaginary beings usually dwelling somewhere 'in heaven'." The fetish is not "a representation of a superterrestrial existence." (p 67) On the contrary, the owner of the fetish can take steps to obligate the spirit assumed to dwell in the object to meet certain requests, under the threat on the part of the owner to abandon it and to replace it with another fetish. There is no justification for the evolutionary chain imagined by Babes.

The inconsistency of this theory is even more evident when the author starts to analyze a specific historical situation, namely the religion of the ancient Hebrews. On the basis of the fact that they were a population of pastoral nomads, Babes immediately concludes that they could not have been polytheists, monotheists or henotheists but had to be in a prereligious stage. But since their primitive community was disintegrating, the author goes on to say, their representations of the surrounding world had to be integrated with "the conditionings of the appearance of the religious phenomenon, that is the area of animism, magic and fetishism," the latter attaining "its ultimate and necessary form of idolatry." (p 150) Babes assures us that any other evaluation of the so-called religion of the ancient Hebrews would be "an abuse of speculation, a judgment not induced from the reality of their material existence." (p 149) It is a typical example of how a basic methodological principle for the social sciences is transformed into a substitute for direct investigation of a very complex spiritual phenomenon. According to the rigid system of the book, "Only the Hebrew citizens of the few fortified cities in the last centuries before our era can be suspected (if appropriate!) of polytheism and henotheism." (p 150)

As arguments, elements are selected from the biblical stories which, in the author's opinion, denote the presence of "an animistic view of the surrounding world," magical practices, and a "fetishistic direction." The fact that all the Old Testament tales contain a direct dialog with a supreme divinity, a dialog punctuated by repeated promises is "explained" from the same point of view: these dialogs could not have been with gods because the ancient Hebrews could not have had gods in their stage of material existence. Therefore it was a matter of some "obscure superhuman forces" which "could only be on the order of spirits." (p 150) But these arguments carry no conviction, for what are the gods if not imaginary superhuman forces, represented as spirits or more or less anthropomorphized?

The real problem that confronts the researcher is whether or not the stories in the first books of the Old Testament contain at all accurate accounts of the religion of the ancient Hebrews, in view of the fact that these stories have behind them an oral tradition of many centuries during which representations were accumulated from periods much later than the one to which they refer. For those who put the books of the Old Testament in writing, the patriarchs in the books of Genesis and Exodus converse with Jehovah, the supreme and single deity of the Hebrews settled much later in the land of Canaan. But the actual situation

seems to have been different. The scholars' main points of reference in this case are the religious situations that existed under analogous circumstances in the rest of the ancient Orient. We find it interesting in this connection that the divinity appears under various names that denote not only the vast, impassable distance between Him and an individual, from the standpoint of belonging to different worlds (Very High God, The Eternal, The All-Seeing etc.) but also a certain rapprochement or intimacy on the level of the individual representing the tribe (the God of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, the God of my father, of thy father, etc.). And in the ancient Orient, among the Sumerians and Assyrians, many tutelary gods of families are known which were commonly maintained until late in the Hellenistic period. The scholars have noted cases in which these divinities came to be recognized by a whole population or absorbed by deities that were gradually imposed. And in the case of the Akkadians, Assyrians and Amorites, "theophorous" proper names (names bearing a divinity) are known, which seem to indicate a tie of kinship between a god and the tribe that worships him. They also appear in the genealogies of the ancient Hebrew tribes: Eli-ab (my God is father), Ammi-el (God is my kinsman) etc., as well as in the names of some ancient Hebrew tribes. So far from trying to solve the problem, I have only tried to outline its complexity and the lack of grounds for the method and the conclusions that Babes is submitting to public opinion.

In concluding this section, let us examine more closely just one of the "proofs" the author invokes in support of his theory: "A common practice of the ancient Hebrews was to build sacrificial altars on heights and burn animals from the grazing flocks. These sacrifices denote an animistic view of the surrounding world. The fumes of the sacrifices were dedicated not to any gods or improbable divinities but to the omnipresent spirits, who were to respond to the sacrificer with good will and protection." (p 150) But it is clear from this account itself that it is a question of religious practices and beliefs properly speaking. While in the earliest times these practices were performed by those traditionally called patriarchs, that is the chieftains of tribes ("The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father, judge betwixt us... Then Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mount, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mount." -- Genesis, 31, 53-54), they were gradually replaced by priests, but the ceremonial was not dedicated to a single divinity. Nor is it certain that Jehovah alone was worshiped in the temple built by Solomon in Jerusalem at the end of the 10th century. The researchers have established that the priests were divided into two hostile groups after it was built. Some continued to perform religious practices on heights, animal sacrifices and anointing the trees and rocks with olive oil, and others officiated on the imposing altars of the temple, according to a strict ceremonial. From Babes' viewpoint we would have to conclude that the priests in the first group, "the priests of the high places," did not represent any religion but only an "animistic view," and only below on the altars of the temple was a religion of the Hebrew people conceived for the first time! Actually both groups worshiped several divinities, and the priests of Jehovah finally won out with the help of Josiah, the king of Judaea, who implemented a bloody religious reform, dismantling the altars on heights and killing all the priests of these altars. He also cleared the temple in Jerusalem of everything connected with the service of other deities: "And the king commanded... to bring forth out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, for Astarte, and for all the host

of heaven and to burn them without Jerusalem... And he brought out Astarte from the house of the Lord, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Chedron, and burned her ... and stamped her small to powder.../And he brake down the houses of debauchery/, that were by the house of the Lord, where the women wove garments for Astarte... And he brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense..." (IV Kings, 23, 4-20) By the italics in the preceding quotation we attract the author's attention to the error in his statement on p 197 that the ancient Hebrews did not know "sacred prostitution." The influence of the Canaanite religious beliefs and practices appeared early.

### 3. On Prophets

Consistent with his working method, this time too Babes begins his theoretical-historical considerations by formulating a definition of Judean prophetism, to which he then subordinates all subsequent analyses.

After accusing "the vulgar atheism in the last two or three decades" in Romania of having placed the phenomenon of prophetism "under the absolutist auspices of a religious interpretation of phantasmagoric visionarism," (p 125) (What authors he means is a mystery again!) Babes decrees: "... prophetism stands out as a means of criticism, often vehement, of the Hebrew slave-holding society and as a particular way of combatting social inequality and injustice (sometimes passively sometimes actively) as well as oppression inside and outside the walled cities of Judaea... Prophetism... was in any case (also) a political manifestation of the oppressed masses in the ancient Orient..." (pp 124-125) And he adds: "On close inspection prophetism, by virtue of its original content, is recommended as a particular historical mode of social criticism and revolt against a given reality." (p 126)

This leveling (to its maximum quotas) of Judean prophetism does not correspond to reality and is contradicted by all the existing reference works on this subject. The author's encomium has no real grounds, and his view as a whole is false. In his fevered imagination all the areas inhabited by Hebrews ("from northernmost Galilee to the far south of Idumea") were trod for centuries on end "by innumerable prophets who invoked obscure celestial and supernatural forces but spoke in the name of the Hebrew poor of antiquity..." (p 125)

We shall note just a few points here, to place this problem on real historical grounds:

a. The prophetism of the older tradition is associated with the so-called "ecstatic" or "cultural" prophets, who were defenders of the primary Jehovahism. They lived in groups under the leadership of a chief. The members of a group, called "sons of prophets," were paid for their oracles and induced their state of mystic ecstasy by collective excitation: music, dancing, nights spent in a sanctuary, irritant drinks etc.

b. The "writer" prophets, whose books are included in the Old Testament, belong to a later and better known period. Except for those conventionally called "The Second Isaiah" and "The Third Isaiah," reliable evidence of their lives and activity has been preserved.

On the whole Israelite prophetism was based on the belief that Israel was Jehovah's chosen people and Jehovah was the one God of the people of Israel, on the doctrine of the choice and on that of the reciprocal promise, both of which assumed an exclusive religion and an unconditional obedience on the part of the chosen people. The innovation contributed by the "writer" prophets was particularly the assertion of the ascendancy of the moral element, the inner faith, and the purity of life over the practice of sacrifices and even the external religion. In it the ecstatic visions are more of a literary style inherited from the cultual prophets.

So far from being entirely characterized, as Babes goes on to say, as "a political manifestation of the oppressed masses," prophetism was not involved in the social-political movement even throughout all the great writer prophets. And there are primarily important distinctions among them. While Amos, Micaiah and Isaiah gave priority to denouncing social injustice, unjust social organization and religious unbelief, Hosea censures religious treason and the acceptance of Canaanite fertility gods and rites, Zephaniah (Sofonie) inveighs against idolatry\* and Habakkuk (Avacum), Jeremiah, Ezekiel et al. are concerned with the Israelites' unbelief, threatens them with enemy invasions, and criticizes the liturgical errors dominating the social problems.

But in the structure of his book Babes needed to hyperbolize prophetism to prepare for the appearance, in the desired dress, of "the great prophets, founders of religions or cults," namely Moses, Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed, whom he presents as the same type of founders. For Babes:

- a. "Any founder of a religion was a rebel against his era, the world, and the economic, political, moral and legal organization of this world..." (p 126)
- b. Any founder of a religion, more or less legendary, must have a historical identity (according to the definition of legend in the book), whether or not the specialized studies bear it out.

But we consider it quite impossible to demonstrate that Mohammed, for example, was a rebel against the economic-political organization of his world or against "his era," or that Buddha, Moses or even Jesus were any revolutionaries by virtue of the doctrines attributed to them.

But the author's "arguments" concerning the historical existence of Moses are worthy of an anthology of pseudo-demonstrations. For instance Babes inquires, with a peculiar logic, "If at least Mohammed existed, why did Jesus and Moses not also exist? It is not actually precluded that what happened in Mecca and near Benares also happened in Jerusalem and the Sinai." (195) By the same logic the author might also ask, for example, if we accept the historical reality of the Jews' expulsion from Jerusalem by the Romans why would we not also accept the historical reality of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden which, according to Genesis, was an earthly paradise? All joking aside, we feel it is absurd to think we can ascribe historical truth to any religious stories merely by regarding them as legends and regarding legends as always based upon a "grain of truth." The author thinks that "If posterity has retained -- in

\*Threatening Jehovah's judgment.

so-called 'traditional' written or oral forms (namely religious -- our note) -- the memory of this personality under the name of Moses, there is no reason why critical thought should not accept this name and the real, specific-historical existence of the bearer of this name." (p 158) For any researcher or even any reader familiar with the studies of mankind's more remote past, these "arguments" compromise a whole work.

A systematic critical commentary would also have to go into other quite numerous problems in connection with Babes' interpretation of the ancient history of the Hebrew people, the formation of Jehovahism, the significance and development of their traditional holidays, the relationship of the periods before and after the exile, etc. up to the dawn of our era and Christianity. We have tried to single out just a few aspects characteristic of his approach and his theoretical outlook on these problems.

#### 4. The Origins of Christianity

In concluding these critical notes, let us also comment on the book's approach to the problem of the origin of Christianity. We shall return to it in another article, in view of its importance to the history of European spirituality and especially in view of the new directions taken recently by research in this area.

Babes seems to be much more circumspect this time, but that impression does not last for more than one page. While in the case of the historicity of Moses his attitude was unequivocally asserted, on the subject of the "real or unreal" existence of Jesus the first sentences of the section on this problem seem hesitant and the "operative" virtues of the definition of legend do not seem to fully satisfy him. "The absence of certain and definitive evidence one way or the other" leads him to think that "The approach to the question... will ultimately be a matter of opinion for anyone." (pp 181-182) Yet the two alternatives, "the two directions (theories) are not equidistant from the possible scientific and historical truth..." (p 181) But this more or less great distance from a "possible" historical truth he thinks is determined not by the weight of the current scientific arguments but by the more or less great possibility "of forming a plausible historical-materialist and dialectical view of the person of Jesus and the circumstances..." in which he lived or in which his myth was formed. (pp 181-182) Once more the author is not interested in examining the existing historical data, the new archeological discoveries etc., but in finding avant la lettre the theory (Jesus' historicity or nonhistoricity) that would enable him to construct a dialectical-materialist and historical explanation! A strange working method!

In this context and with these "arguments" the choice is certain. The pages after the introduction are intended to "bring out reasons for accepting the real existence" of the eponym of Christianity (p 195), since he feels the mythological theory is subject to idealism, explaining "one myth by another myth and re-legating the Christ myth..to the 'pure' areas of religious ideology." (p 182)

Babes fails to understand an elementary point: for theologians acceptance or nonacceptance of the historical existence of Jesus is not and cannot be anything but an ideological choice. Theologians alone are necessarily on the side of

the historicity of Christ because of their very acceptance of the "truth of their faith." For all other researchers it is a problem of the historical sciences, and the various disciplines devoted to study of mankind's remote past contribute to the clarification of the problem. Careful examination of the progress made in this direction unquestionably shows the increasingly pronounced importance of the arguments demonstrating the historical nonexistence of the supposed founder of Christianity and casts doubt upon the appearance of Christianity in Jerusalem, indicating a subsequent process of Judaizing the new religion. The considerable progress made especially in the last decade by the theory of the nonhistoricity of Jesus has nothing in common, as Babes tries to insinuate, with an 'idealistic' explanation that would identify the origin of Christianity with "an association of ideas coming from the four winds." (p 192)

How does the author construct his "plausible view" once the choice has been made?

He sees the grounds for the historicity of Jesus in "three horizons": historiography, culturology, and the New Testament writings. The total lack of critical discrimination is striking here.

The fact that the "evidence" of such ancient authors as Tacitus, Suetonius, or Josephus have proved to be later interpolations, "confused or suspect," or unrelated to the problem under discussion does not disturb Babes. To him it seems primarily important that "This evidence nevertheless exists." (p 185) But the quality of the evidence is fundamental to the clarification of a problem, not its mere existence. For example Tacitus' references to the bloody persecutions Nero launched against the Christians in Roma on the occasion of the fire that devastated that city in 64 are rightly considered later interpolations, because the later Christian tradition is entirely silent about this event which, if it had actually happened would have made the church Fathers the main accusers of Nero and the victims of the massacre martyrs of the Christian faith. Not even Suetonius, who wrote a "Life of Nero" in 120, mentions the name of the founder of the sect in speaking of persecutions, and in "The Life of Claudius," in a reference in passing to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, he mentions that they revolted at the instigation of Chrestus, a personage who however could have had nothing in common with Christ. How does Babes use these sources? As regards the "evidence" of Tacitus, he thinks the fact that "Eugen Lovinescu, the illustrious Romanian scholar and translator of the edition of the "Annals" used here, makes no comment to this effect" (p 183) is an irrefutable argument that we do not have to do with a falsified text! And so there is Eugen Lovinescu in the position he never claimed of a specialist in the history of early Christianity! Suetonius in his turn is present through the quoted reference to Chrestus, a text "contested by none," says Babes, who also suggests to us that these lines refer to Christ. But Babes, at a distance of 150 pages, also clearly writes, "The expulsion of the Jews from Rome, mentioned by Suetonius, for the disturbances among them caused by the agitator Chrestus was ordered by Claudius, and it also affected Christians, although indirectly, because of their above-mentioned identification with the Jews." (p 339) This makes it clear that even for Babes Suetonius' reference to Chrestus has nothing in common with evidence for the historical existence of Jesus Christ. Yet it is included in the evidence which, regardless of its quality, nevertheless exists!

The "culturological" arguments depend upon the now familiar definition of a legend and consequently have no scientific basis.

The last set of arguments used by Babes pertain to "exploitation" of the writings of the New Testament, especially the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels. In reproaching the critics of these Christian canonical writings for ignorance of their reconstituent character, the author advocates acceptance of the principle that beyond the inserted fictions the New Testament contains "an ultimate consistency, a grain of specific historical reality, and a particle of human truth." (p 194) The principle is demonstrated within the limitations of the "fruitful" consequences of the definition of a legend: the lack of any effort toward scientific accuracy.

A final example, indicative of the "reconstituent" action taken by Babes: In trying to present the origin of Christianity as specifically and historically as possible, the author suddenly begins to designate Jesus Christ by the syntagma "Emmanuel, Son of Joseph and Mary," with no previous or subsequent explanation. (pp 292, 299, 300, 314 etc.) The uninformed reader is astonished, and the informed one is too! What is the point of using this name associated with an Old Testament prophecy? Another "act of choice"? No one except theologians, and they more and more rarely, resorts to this appellative. Those concerned with the history of religions know that the Gospel According to Matthew contains the verses, "Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us." (I, 22, 23) In this fragment we have to do with a common practice in editing the Gospels, namely the introduction, in the texture of the mythical history of Christ, of isolated sentences from the texts of one Judean prophet or another to "prove" the divine inspiration of both the evangelists and the prophets. Of course the sentences are taken from contexts that refer to quite different events. The prophet meant here is Isaiah and the text from which the sentence about Emmanuel was taken does not even refer to the Messiah awaited by Judeans but to the liberation of Jerusalem besieged by Retsin, the king of Syria. When Ahaz, the king of Judaea, asked Isaiah for a divine sign to tell him to what foreign alliances he should appeal to save Jerusalem, the prophet told him that there would be a birth from a virgin and that her baby, Emmanuel, would be raised on milk and honey but before he was able to distinguish good from bad the kingdom of Judaea would be laid waste. Perhaps here too Babes has deciphered a hitherto unknown "grain of truth"! With his methods of investigation we can expect even such surprises.

Our commentary ends here, as "The Religious Drama of Man" offers us with an unprecedented generosity a multitude of confusions, errors and gaps in information that is hard to explain. We have noted only a few of them, but they indicate how enthusiastic dilettantism and originality at any price can completely compromise a book.

ROMANIA

TRANSLATIONS OF ROMANIAN LITERATURE CRITICIZED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 26 May 77 p 20

Article by Nicolae Balota

Text During these years we have been seeing a very important process of the opening of Romanian writing toward an entire universe of literature, art and science. Of course, we have important traditions in this regard. Although there still is a lot left to do in the area of disseminating Romanian books abroad, the achievements still are prestigious both in the number and quality of translations.

Putting a work into another language means reproducing literature in another linguistic space through appearance. The Romanian spirit has only to gain by meeting other literatures through translations. We approach the works and creations of foreign spirits, checking the potentials of our language and literature. The translation of Baudelaire or of Proust is a rock of experience for the language in which we write, just as the translation of Blaga or Argezi into foreign languages is an experience through which the hidden values of the works translated can be revealed.

The translator's act is equal to a transsubstantiation. The mystery of a perfect translation: The essence of the work is changed and yet remains itself.

With regard to our classics, their translation into foreign languages, of course, started quite a while ago. Thus, we have older translations, even if they are not total, of the poetry of Eminescu in German. Also, to cite some figures, Eminescu has been translated in 24 countries and in 90 volumes until today. Let us mention among the newest translations the one by Alfred Margul Sperber ("Gedichte," 1957), an edition published in Berlin and Weimar in 1964 with translations by Deicke Gunter and Walter

Christine ("Der Abendstern Gedichte") as well as the translations of Wolf Aichelburg and Franyo Zoltan. And here are several newer French versions of the poems of Eminescu: the volume entitled "Poesies" translated by S. Paves, "Quatre Poemes Presentes par Hubert Juin" and "Essai de Mise en Verse Francais" by Robert Vivier. A valuable volume of Eminescu's "Poems" translated into five languages--a selected edition-- was published by Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga in 1971. But let us give some other figures on the distribution of Romanian literature in the world between 1945-1972, too. The writings of I. L. Caragiale have appeared in 34 countries in 130 volumes; Creanga, in 24 countries and 81 volumes; Sadoveanu, in 36 countries and 228 volumes (undoubtedly heading the list of Romanian writers translated into foreign languages). The works of Tudor Arghezi have appeared in 27 countries in 79 volumes; Zaharia Stancu, in 37 countries and 137 volumes; Marin Preda, in 20 countries and 38 volumes; Geo Bogza, in 20 countries and 36 volumes and so forth.

In particular what has been sought today has been to find a new audience, a new public, for our writers through new translations which respect the demands of contemporary literature. On the other hand, new areas have been sought where our classics or our modern writers have not been known (South America, the northern European countries and Asia). Of course, there still is much to do. Remember that in some leading countries there still are no or too few translations of Romanian books. Thus, Eminescu's poetry appeared in the United States only in 1972. Caragiale, Blaga, Barbu and Bacovia still are absent from the American book market. There still are too few books of criticism, essays, literary history and aesthetics translated and published in foreign languages. A start has been made in this direction, too. Let us not forget that our great literary critics and theoreticians--Lovinescu, Ibraileanu, Calinescu--were not known at all abroad. With regard to Calinescu and Vianu, a selection of texts in foreign languages has appeared here and there in recent years.

Whereas progress has been made with regard to the quality of translations of Romanian writings into foreign languages, there still are translations that are not sufficiently successful. And their quality must be improved radically. This involves both the activity of the translators in Romania as well as of those abroad. With regard to Romania's translators, the language which the foreign readers find in the texts they have translated often is not the contemporary literary language of their countries. Also, we should give special attention to those who translate Romanian literary works into other languages abroad. To discover new translators and inform them of the progress of Romanian literature is a need which the laudable initiative of holding colloquiums with translators from the Romanian language only partially fulfills.

Sometimes, in the translations done abroad we see not so much the awkwardness of the translations as their lack of orientation. A mistaken selection of texts can be noted in some Romanian anthologies as, for example, in the anthology of short contemporary prose published in German by the Tubingen Erdmann publishers. The translators' problem in any case is one of the most important ones in the process of disseminating Romanian books abroad and much greater attention must be given to them in the future.

Also, the magazines are of primary importance in this process, above all in order to make known certain current achievements and to make them promptly. Romania's magazines in foreign languages in the area of literature have made several important steps in recent years. Thus, the appearance of some more recent publications--as well as CAHIERS ROUMAINS D'ETUDES LITTERAIRES and SYNTHESIS--have enjoyed favorable response in the specialized press in various countries. However, this is not the same situation with other magazines as well as REVUE ROUMAINE and its sisters in other languages which should reflect the progress of Romanian literature today more adequately.

A work in more than one language for broad circulation, which would succinctly present history, geography and Romanian events from past and present, edited by the best specialists from each area, would be of inestimable use. In the same regard, they should more promptly answer the demand of the public abroad--particularly the specialized public--with regard to a history of Romanian literature in one or more languages of broad circulation. A compendium on Romanian culture would also be well received by those concerned with the history of Romanian culture. With regard to the writing of articles on Romania in the large specialized works or in foreign encyclopedias, the most authorized ones should be demanded. Let us not forget that in "La Grande Encyclopedie du XIX-ieme Siecle," the writer of the articles on the history of the Romanians was Nicolae Iorga.

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YUGOSLAVIA

DAILY RECALLS COMINFORM STALINIST POLICY

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jun 77 p 4 AU

[Zoran Zujovic commentary: "Cominform on the Way to Oblivion"]

[Excerpts] A few days ago we published a report on the conflict between the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties (Cominform) and Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) as it has been depicted in the 11th volume of the "History of the World" published by the USSR Academy of Science. Without presenting the basic facts, the authors of this book not only diminish the importance of the 1948 events for international relations in general and for the situation in the international workers and communist movement, but also provide a false picture of the events as a whole.

Above all, this soviet history does not make it clear that Yugoslavia was exposed to fierce pressure which threatened to endanger its independence and that Stalin's hegemonic intentions to prevent an independent development of Yugoslavia and any attempt to seek one's own roads of the struggle for socialism and socialist building are not made apparent.

This "History of the World" by this very fact cannot offer any valid explanations and assessments of the practical suspension of state relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, which lasted until the mid-fifties, until after Stalin's death and the 20th CPSU Congress, which explained the shortcomings, mistakes and infringements in Soviet reality and in the foreign policy of that country with the well-known term of "personality cult."

What Were the Cominform Resolutions?

The Cominform, created a year earlier, adopted in June 1948 its first resolution, entitled "On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia," and in November 1949 its second resolution, "The Yugoslav Communist Party in the Hands of Murderers and Spies." With the exception of an announcement of its being set up and another in 1956 on its being dissolved, these were the only documents which this institution bestowed upon mankind, and this fact alone could be taken into consideration in assessing the purpose set for it by Stalin's leadership of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), as the CPSU was then called.

There is no doubt that because of the position occupied by the Soviet Union and because of the role of its state policy (and thus also of the Communist Party), the Cominform was to be precisely a tool for "lining up" the East European countries and all the communist parties into uniform ranks under the command of one center. At that time, almost 3 decades ago, such a tendency was not even very much disguised; one can find sufficient illustrations of this in the resolution of 1948 ("The Experience of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) shows: "The Cominform Approves the Steps of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks'") and similar examples.

In the meanwhile, some things have changed. A new and significant force has appeared in international relations, the policy of nonalignment as an alternative to the bloc divisions of the world and the threats emanating from them. Regardless of the resistance of the old, which is very strong, the workers and communist movement rejected monolithism irretrievably and prevented leadership from one center. Was the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties last year not convincing proof of this?

#### Policy Resting on Curious History?

The right to independence--of countries, but also of communist parties--and to independent development, which alone can create conditions for equal cooperation, is irresistibly forging ahead. This right implies the freedom of choice of one's own road and of specific social transformations which, after all, is the only possible way for successful actions of both the communist parties and the broad democratic movements. A return to the times when all the communist parties supported the Cominform resolution against Yugoslavia is certainly no longer possible.

However, when we recall the events of 3 decades ago, we must bear in mind that the fate of Yugoslavia and its existence were at stake then, that Stalinist hegemonism made use of all the means at its disposal to liquidate its independence and its sovereignty, and that it lost this battle as well as the whole war. Yugoslavia stood its ground, with tremendous difficulties, and succeeded in defending its right to a future which suited its needs and conditions. It was precisely this "Yugoslav case" that opened up some questions and brought about the search for new answers to them both in international relations and in the international workers movement.

It is a matter of historical facts and historical truth, but it is of no less importance that it is a matter of essential political problems which demand that proper conclusions be drawn for the present practice, too, of the development of individual countries as well as of the development of international cooperation and contacts in the international workers movement. Therefore the curious forgetfulness of the historians, the authors of the Soviet "History of the World," is of more than purely academic significance, particularly if the position is taken that policy is based on scientific foundations. When we speak about the book concerned, we only try to clarify: is such a historical science really a teacher of life, that is to say, a foundation of policy?

After this refreshing of memory, it seems more obvious that, after the publication of the 11th volume of the Soviet "History of the World," such a refreshing was really necessary!"

## YUGOSLAVIA

### TEXT OF POEM ASSAILED FOR SERBIAN CHAUVINISM

[Editorial Report] A certain amount of controversy has arisen by the publication of an allegedly chauvinistic poem in Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian on 1 April 1977, page 6. The poem, entitled "Triptych," was written by Tanasije Mladenovic, 64, who has long been involved in party politics and is a former editor-in-chief of the biweekly literary paper in which his new poem -- nominally associated with recent landslides in southern Serbia -- has appeared. An attack by Slobodan Kljakic on the poem and its author for Serbian chauvinism was printed in the Belgrade University student newspaper STUDENT (11 May 1977) and has been twice reprinted in other Belgrade periodicals: in full in the newsmagazine-format NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE (15 May 1977) and excerpted in the party weekly paper KOMUNIST (16 May 1977).

The full text of the poem follows. No attempt has been made to reproduce the rhyme scheme or syllabic scanning of the original.

#### Triptych

-- Upon hearing word of the sinking of  
whole hamlets and thousands of hectares  
of earth in the south of Serbia.

1.

Out of the night they came thrashing about, those noctivagant forces.

Dark snouts opened jaws. Enormous pits now gape wide.

Trees and plants sink into them, and humble peasant houses.

The whole landscape is sinking. An unthinkable menace rumbles in the distance.

Out of the night they came thrashing about, these diabolical forces, to drive man mad.

To cast him down into the bowels of the earth. The heavens resound with  
the crackle of torrents of water,

While the farmstead down below screeches, sighs, groans; the midnight  
darkness

Swallows fields and meadows, fearful cattle, human beings.

Monsters are straining upward from the depths, from the beds of mysterious  
hills,

From the immemorial wellsprings in which the evil spirit roosts:

High above Serbia, the flaming disk has faded, its radiant contour gone.

Antediluvian darkness has dominion. Sooty rain topples down

Onto crude faces, hardened hands, desolate peasant souls,

While the frost-fettered ground steams away and an icy wind holds  
forth.

2.

What else can still strike you, country of mine? Where else will your  
path still carry you?

Oh you wanderer, Serbia, vagabond that you are, land of hovels and  
dugouts,

By hills where there are no hills, by woods where there are no woods;  
oh Serbia, land of corn, land of wheat,

Sunk in fervor and rage centuries old, what is it -- now again -- that  
makes you tremble like a twig in the air?

What else can still strike you, enwrapped as you are in mysteriousness,  
in countenance lost, in fear?

Serf and ever migrating, that you are, oh Serbia; trampled, more  
than once set aflame;

Torn apart and scattered to the winds; more than once brought to white-hot  
heat by uprisings and

Sunk in fateful darkness, and in the mire from which even now dust hovers  
above you?

Like a mole in the ground, you surge through like a plant out of a winter's dream,

Roused by the newborn sun. And with new brilliance every time!

Will you still be able, as you were before, to renew your strength, to forge a crashing blow?

Or will you, disheartened, worn out, abandoned to the tide of the times,

Vanish amidst hills and peoples and, in the final whirlwind,

Torn apart by an apocalyptic might, sink into yourself, to the very depths?

3.

Awake! Hear the multitude of people rumbling around you.

Only drowning men will scream to others for help.

Collect yourself, inside, and lift your flame like a sentinel

In the face of every weakness. Examine your fear attentively!

Awake! Around you, the ancient specters watch and wait.

Only weakling descendants will appeal for help to ghosts.

Collect yourself, and may new and powerful forces take heed of the cry from olden times.

Gather together all your wellsprings and gifts!

Awake! The roots of tree trunks branch forth only deep beneath the surface,

Tangled forests -- even if snow-cluttered -- give off steam in the springtime,

While the wide-ranging emanations of the earth hover freely high above!

Awake! Engrave your name on the crust of every patch of ground,

Lest you be consumed by disaster and your incapacity to forget;

Recall the deaths of the many, yet let Life overcome!

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END